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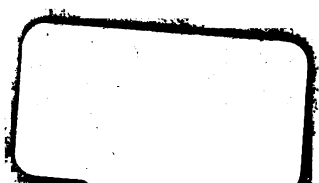
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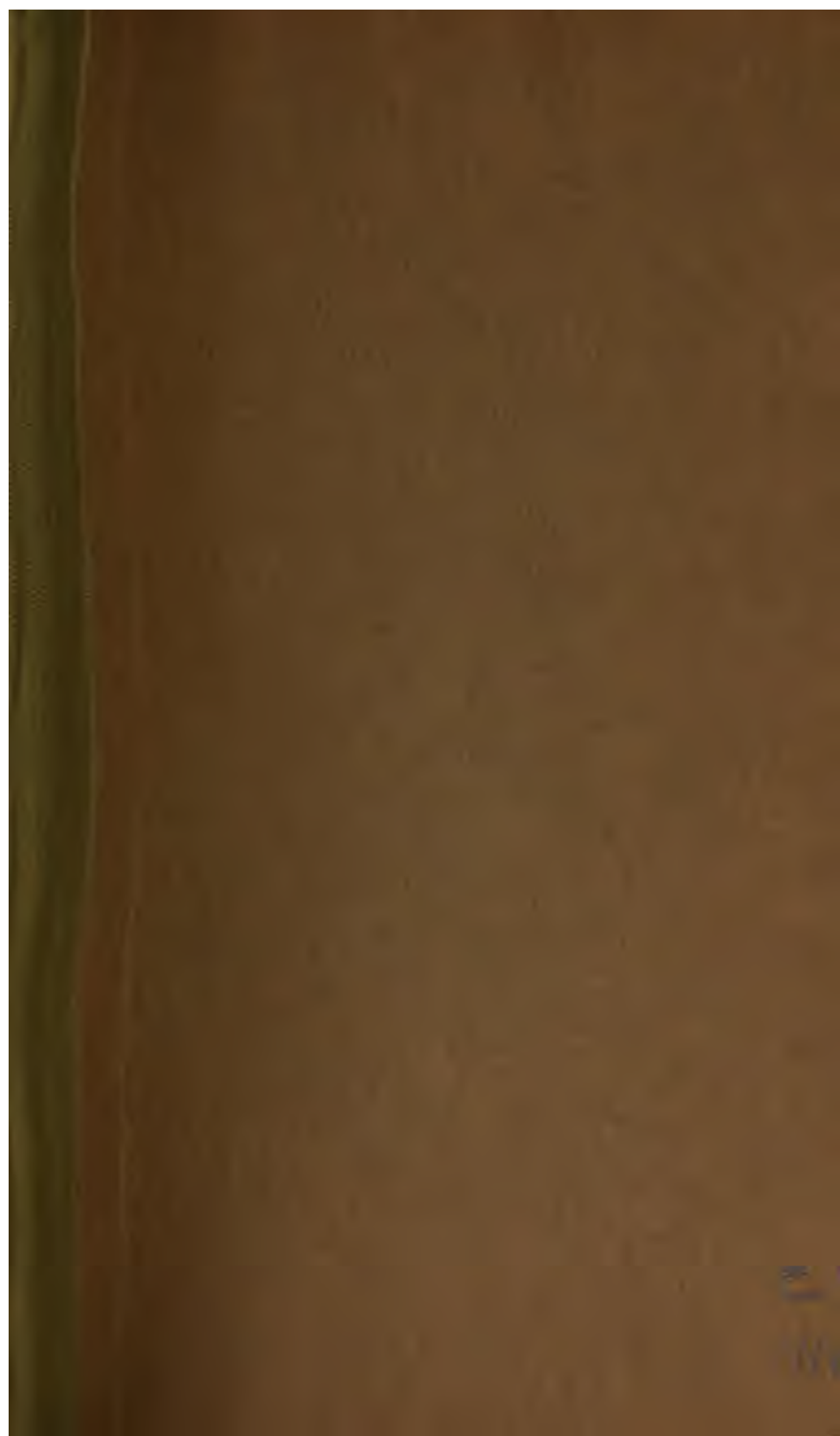
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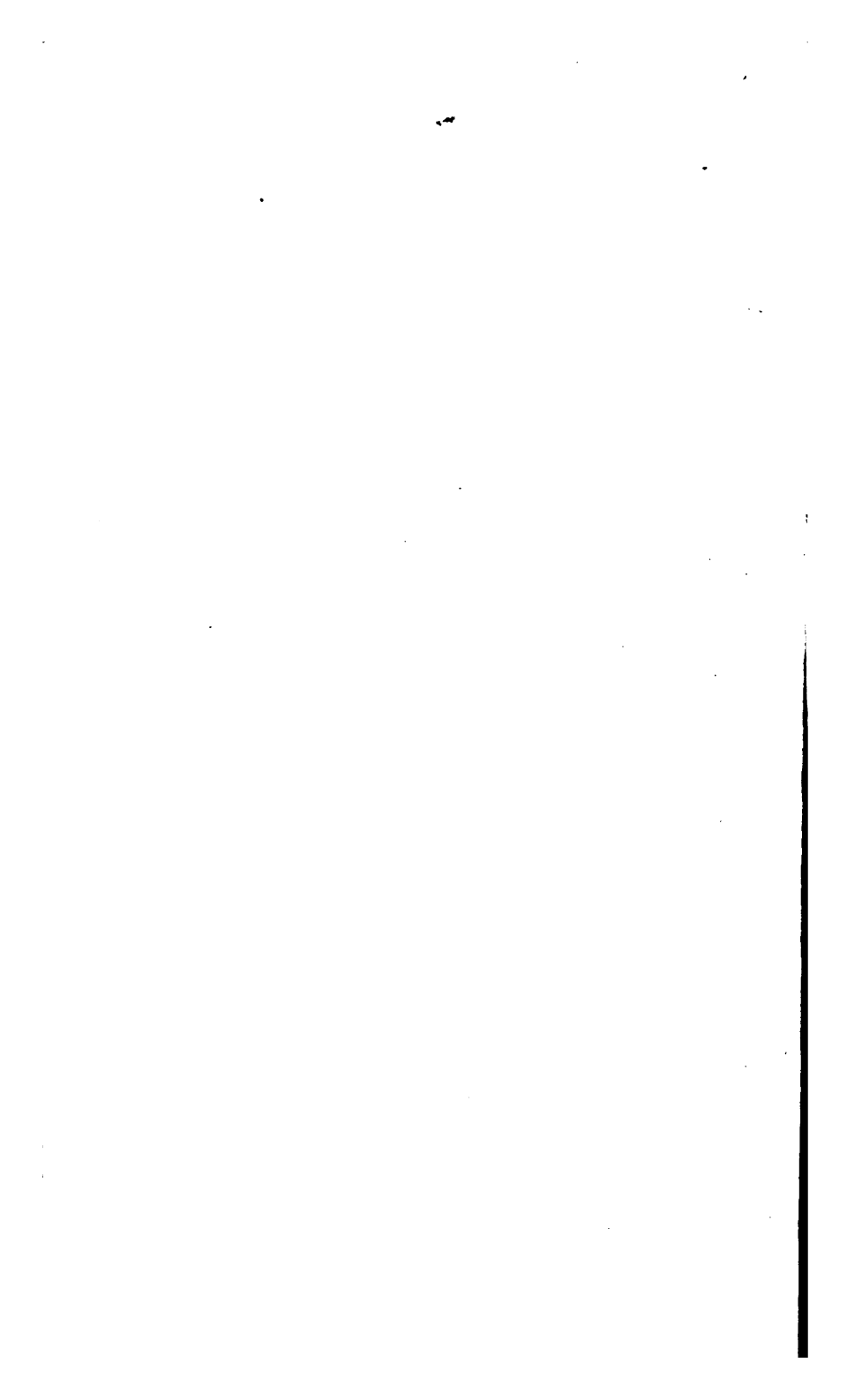
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LETTERS ON ENGLAND:

COMPRISING

DESCRIPTIVE SCENES;

WITH REMARKS

ON THE

STATE OF SOCIETY, DOMESTIC ECONOMY, HABITS OF THE
PEOPLE, AND CONDITION OF THE MANUFACTURING
CLASSES GENERALLY.

INTERSPERSED WITH

Miscellaneous Observations and Reflections.

BY JOSHUA E. WHITE,

OF SAVANNAH.

May 1810 —

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

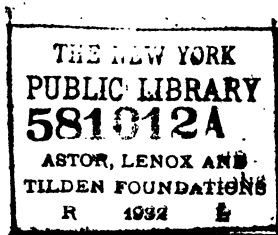
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***** States of America, A. D. 1816, William Fry, of the said
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In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, intitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned." And also to the act, entitled, "An act supplementary to an act, entitled 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the District of Pennsylvania.

NOV 18 1832
CLERK OF DISTRICT
OF PENNSYLVANIA

PREFACE.

IT is generally admitted, that though many productions are more instructive, few afford more entertainment, than books of travels. They are particularly interesting to the young mind, because they lead to a knowledge of things, circumstances, and places, the desire for which is generally very predominant at an early period of life. They increase the spirit for research, and afford subjects for reflection.

These remarks apply with greater or less force to travels in almost every or any country; for barren indeed must be that section of our globe, which does not contain in its bowels, on its surface, in its productions, or in the character, habits, arts, or institutions of its people, something worth noting, or from which useful observations may be drawn.

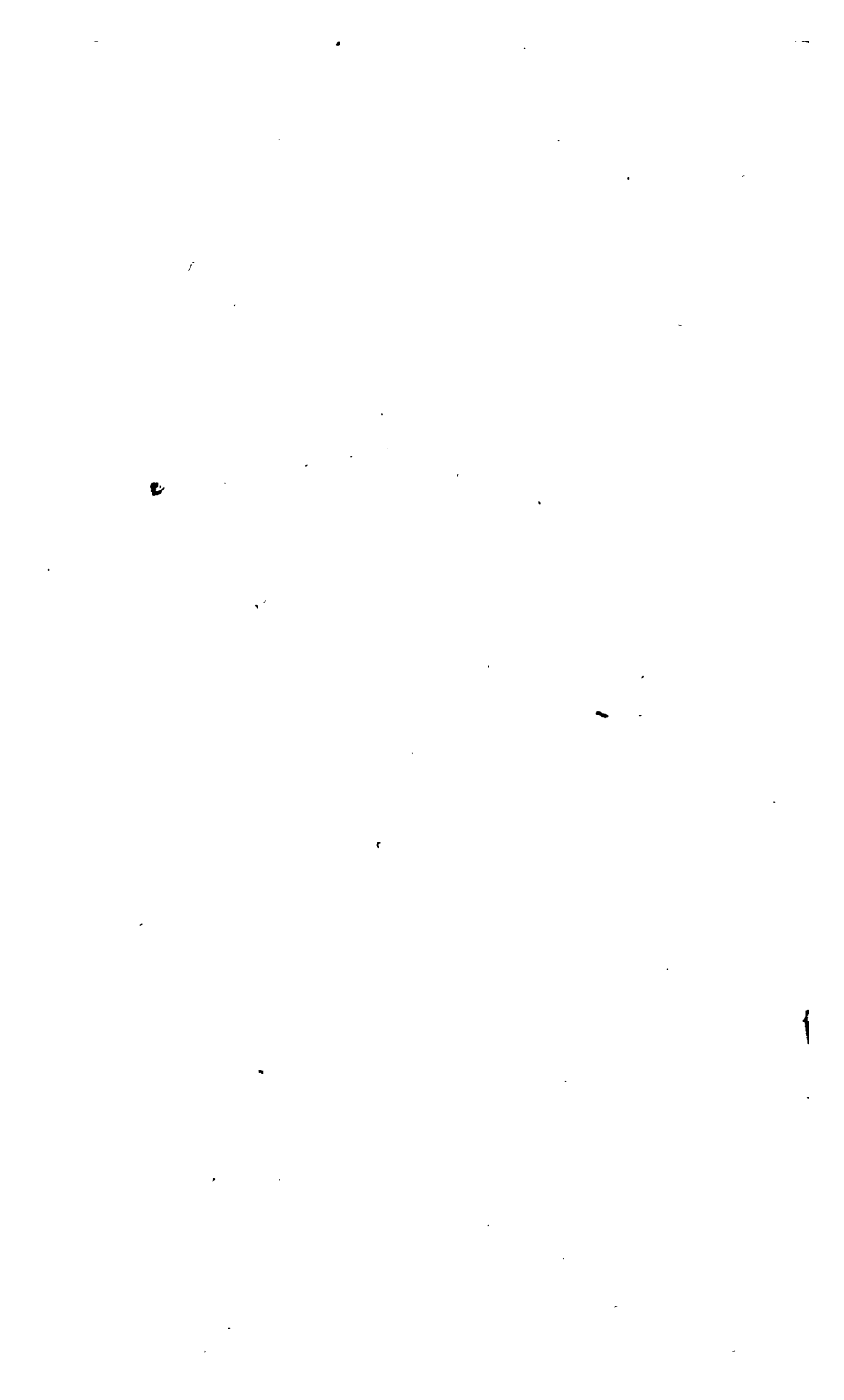
If this be true of countries generally, and especially of the unenlightened portions of Asia, Africa, and Europe, how much more forcibly will it apply to Great Britain, where the subjects are so copious, and where so vast a field is presented, from which the most idle or heedless gleaner may collect something pleasing and useful. How far my gleanings have been judicious or instructive, must be decided by the taste and judgment of my readers.

They will scarcely receive as an apology for imperfections, errors, or inelegance in style, a bad arrangement, an occasional diffusiveness, or an apparent haste to pass over certain matters, the fact, that the observations were penned while the author was travelling from place to place on business, and amidst all the perplexities which it seldom fails to create.

Authors should not apologize to their readers. When they venture to place themselves before the tribunal of public opinion, they await its censure or its approbation. It is an act of their own, and they are amenable for its consequences.

On the following sheets the author would remark, that they are not the laborious productions of a closet over a midnight taper, on abstruse matters or the highest qualities of intellect, but the fugitive remarks of one who viewed things with something more than common inquisitiveness, and with impartiality. He embraced every advantage of improving the opportunities which were afforded, and these were frequent.

The author, then, indulges the belief, that although he has travelled over ground familiar to many of his countrymen, his Letters will, notwithstanding, be found to contain some useful reflections, interesting descriptions, or important facts.



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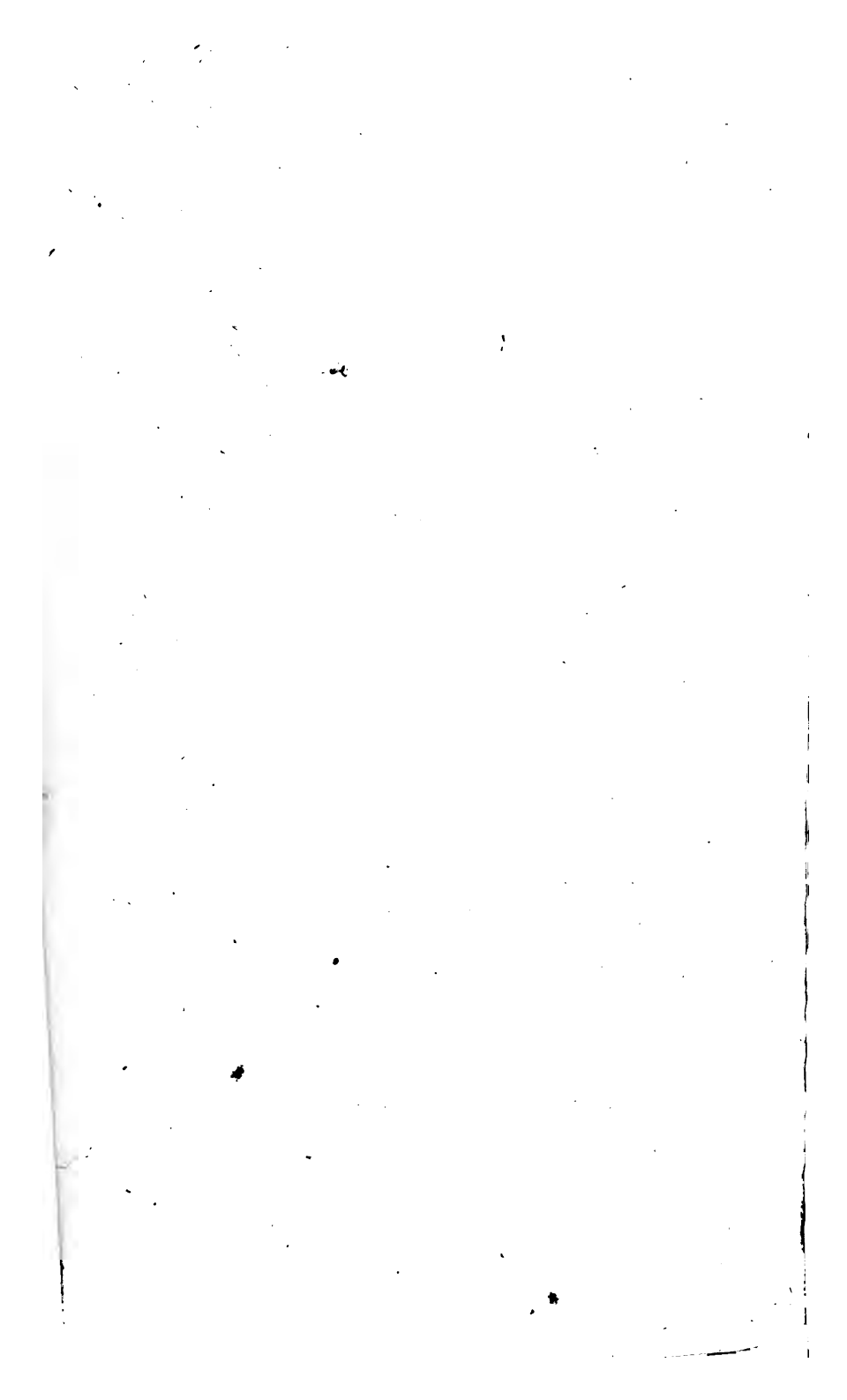
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LETTERS ON ENGLAND.

LETTER I.

Departure from Savannah—Cape Clear—Visit from the Natives—Passage up Saint George's Channel—Holyhead—Arrive at Liverpool.

HAVING made the necessary preparations for the voyage, I embarked at Savannah on the thirtieth of May, 1810, in the ship Benjamin, Captain Leveret Stevens, for Liverpool.

Our ship crossed Tybee Bar on the following day, with a fair breeze, which continued for five days, elating the passengers with the hope of a speedy voyage. It now subsided into a calm, which was soon followed by a gentle though favourable wind; and this by alternate calms and head winds, ultimately terminating in a gale, accompanied with rain. At this time we had reached the latitude of the Great Bank of Newfoundland; and while passing it, the weather was

so cool, that a fire would have been comfortable. It continued so for a week.

About this time we spoke the ship *Sheffield*, from Lisbon, and bound to Norfolk; she was in a leaky state. Her boat was sent to our vessel for a supply of provisions, of which Captain Stevens furnished as much as he could spare; and from private stores, the passengers gave such as they could with convenience. By this vessel I had an opportunity of writing to Savannah.

From Newfoundland our passage was more pleasant; and without meeting with any disagreeable or vexatious events, we espied Cape Clear, on the thirty-fourth day of our voyage. This was a joyful sight, and produced sensations more exquisitely felt than easily described.

As those only feel peculiar happiness, on a reverse of fortune, who have long been the sport of adversity; or completely enjoy the pleasures of felicity, after having been compelled to drink deeply of the cup of affliction; so they who have been tossed on the waves of a tempestuous ocean, can alone enjoy those exhilarating feelings, which the first sight of land produces after a long absence from it.

As is usual with vessels off this part of the coast of Ireland, we had scarcely brought the land fairly into

view before we were boarded by a boat, in which were several natives, who evinced much anxiety to barter fish for their favourites, rum, tobacco, and salt beef or pork.

Though decently clad, their anxiety to trade, and the dissatisfaction expressed for what was given to them in exchange for a few flounders, evinced both a necessitous state, and a greedy disposition.

Seamen are generally cautious in trusting these people, and hence I observed they were closely watched to prevent the rope being cut which was given them to hold while the vessel was lying to. This was attempted notwithstanding, under the pretext that it could not be loosened.

Dishonesty has been said to be characteristic of the inferior order of Irishmen; and the experience of most persons confirms the justness of the charge. But whether a similar accusation could not be made against individuals of other countries, who are doomed to bear a similar state of political slavery, is not questionable in my mind. The characters of men under like circumstances, have little variation. Human nature is the same every where; and the different features with which it is presented to us, are the result of a combination of circumstances, dependent on education and civil regulations.

There cannot be a doubt entertained of the influence of political circumstances on the moral character: that under a despotism, there is less respect for the laws, and more efforts are made to evade their severity, than under a form of government mild and equal in its administration: the former is hated for its severity, the latter loved for its leniency. Hence, it may be asserted as a truth, that the soil of a despot is not favourable for the growth of virtue; that as governments are made more cruel, the people become less virtuous, and vice versa: that in republics, where the rights of the people are more respected, a correspondent regard influences their conduct towards the government of their choice, and crimes are diminished. A system of legislation which will root the vicious propensities from the human mind, is a desideratum which will never be obtained. Pure integrity is seldom found. It is a quality of the mind of high estimation; and like those jewels which are most valued because most scarce, should, when met with, be most admired.

With pleasant weather, and under easy sail, we passed up St. George's Channel; sometimes very near to the Irish shore, and occasionally gratified with a view of the opposite coast.

We passed very near to Holyhead in Wales. Passengers frequently take a boat here and go on shore, when there is a calm, or the wind is ahead. From this place, packets sail every day for Dublin, and they are constantly arriving from that city. The distance is sixty miles. Daily conveyances may be had to Liverpool, and most other parts of the kingdom; and it is the great thoroughfare for travellers from Ireland to London.

Holyhead is built on a peninsula of the Isle of Anglesea; and having but little trade, consists mostly of houses of entertainment, built on one street. It possesses nothing worthy the traveller's notice, unless it is the pulpit of its ancient church, which is said to have been built in 1166.

As we made a near approach to the end of our voyage, we sailed closer in with the land, and had a distant view of part of the Welsh coast, and that part of Cheshire which bounds on the river Mersey.

To an American, accustomed to large plantations, zig-zag fences, and thick woods, the sight of land partitioned into very small and almost regular compartments; separated by hedges, and adorned in the highest state by the hand of cultivation, was novel and highly pleasing.

I have seldom beheld scenery with less boldness and more beauty: it was beauty of the mildest cast; nature adorned in the simplest robes, but not less elegant for their simplicity. It was near harvest time; the bending ears of corn* were ripe for the sickle, and called for the labours of the husbandman.

On the 6th of July, we made our destined port, and for the first time I landed on English ground.

If the mere prospect of land at a distance affords such pleasurable feelings,—feelings which cannot be expressed by words, or felt by persons who have never been out of sight of it, those are still more exquisite which rush upon the mind, when we have completely passed the dangers of a voyage.

* All small grain is called corn in England, and is generally known by that name throughout Europe.

LETTER II.

Appearance of Liverpool Docks—Walk on the bank of the Mersey, to the Herculaneum Pottery—The Mount—Botanic Garden—Public Buildings—Market for Vegetables and Fruit—Politeness and Hospitality—Attention to Dress necessary—Prostitutes—English Women.

THE appearance presented by Liverpool in sailing up the Mersey, is such, as to impress the mind with its great commercial importance, nor will those impressions be at all diminished on landing. The immense crowd of shipping in the river and docks, literally presenting a forest of masts; the tumult about the latter; the rattling of carts; the noise of carmen; the bustle of porters; and the rapid movement of people of all ages, classes, conditions, and of both sexes, is sufficient to arrest the attention of a stranger, and to fix him in a gaze of astonishment.

Similar confusion exists in most parts of the city, and we can only retire from it in a few streets, removed from the river and docks, and which have been made in a modern period, in a stile of modern neatness.

Few places, perhaps not one, in the United King-

dom, can vie with Liverpool for the rapidity of its growth, and the increase of commercial importance. It is now only secondary to London in the variety, extent, and value of its commerce; but its docks are inferior to those of the metropolis. They are capable of containing one thousand large vessels; and on my arrival, it was said, there were upwards of four hundred, in port, belonging to the United States.

The following statement will show the comparative size of the London and Liverpool Docks.

LONDON DOCKS.

The principal bason of the West-India Dock measures two thousand six hundred feet, by five hundred and ten, and twenty-nine deep. Contiguous to this, is another bason or dock, of the same length and depth, by about four hundred feet wide.

The first, of about thirty acres, will contain between two and three hundred sail of West-Indiamen, and is appropriated for unlading the vessels. The latter, for loading outwards, contains about twenty-four acres.

The London Dock for unlading, is one thousand two hundred and sixty-two feet long, by six hundred and ninety-nine feet wide, and contains twenty acres

The East-India Dock for unloading, is one thousand four hundred and ten feet long, by five hundred

and sixty feet wide, and contains eighteen and a half acres; and that for loading, is seven hundred and eighty long, by five hundred and twenty feet wide, and contains nine and a quarter acres.

LIVERPOOL DOCKS.

	<i>Yds.</i>	<i>Yds.</i>		<i>Ft. in.</i>		<i>Ft. in.</i>
Old Dock,	198 by	85 its gates	33 0 wide by	25 3 deep		
Salthouse Dock,	213	102	-	34 0	-	25 0
George's Dock,	246	100	-	33 3	-	26 2
King's Dock,	272	95	-	42 0	-	26 0
Queen's Dock,	280	120	-	42 0	-	27 0

No stranger should neglect viewing these stupendous works; and if he should visit George's Dock, he will find in its neighbourhood an agreeable walk, called the Parade, from which the prospect on the Mersey, with its floating forest; the opposite shore of Cheshire, with its green fields; and a considerable part of Liverpool, will repay him for his toil. If inclined, he may extend his walk upon the bank of the river for about two miles, to the Herculaneum Pottery; the works of which are very extensive, and where every possible variety of useful and ornamental ware is made to please the most rude, or the most refined or fastidious taste. This valuable manufactory is owned by a company, who have an extensive warehouse in Duke Street, for the exhibition of the most

elegant of their wares, and where orders may be left for home use or exportation.

On my first visit to this manufactory, I was treated with much politeness by the manager, Mr. Smith; and being conducted through the works, I spent a pleasant hour with his family. On a chimney ornament I observed the face of a child, which bore a most striking resemblance to his daughter, about four years old, then playing in the room: the likeness was indeed well preserved, and the colours vivid, though it had passed through the fire three times.

The Herculeum Pottery cannot bear competition with those of Staffordshire for variety of wares, especially for those of the cheaper or more common kind; but it can in those of the elegant and ornamental.

I made a purchase here of all the crockery which was wanted by our house; and the company obligate themselves to deliver their wares in any part of Liverpool, (free of charges,) at the same prices at which they are charged in Staffordshire. The risk in the transportation is thus prevented, and this may be estimated as being equal to ten per cent.

In passing from room to room of this extensive establishment to see the variety of processes which the wares undergo, I was particularly interested to behold little boys and girls usefully and profita-

bly engaged in painting flowers and various other things, from copies before them, on mugs, bowls, cups, &c. before they are placed in the oven. Necessity is the strongest reason which can be offered, for employing children in this and similar ways, at an age which, in our own country, is devoted to playfulness, or in receiving the rudiments of education. Against this powerful law it is vain to offer any arguments, founded on the moral or physical evils which may result from crowding children together of both sexes, without a guide for their conduct, or rules for their behaviour. I contend for its immoral influence, and the danger of its impairing their constitutions.

I have said they were usefully and profitably engaged; and it was so to their employers; not to themselves. They are taught to work, but their education is neglected, and their evil propensities are not curbed. There is, moreover, a cruelty in confining children at so early an age; and denying them the amusements and pastimes of childhood.

On this subject I shall have occasion hereafter to make some remarks.

That part of Liverpool which is properly called the commercial, with the exception of Castle Street, has been principally built at periods when a perverted taste or bad judgment induced men to crowd build-

ings on narrow and crooked streets; thus making nurseries for disease, by the accumulation of filth and the exclusion of fresh air. This truth has been often forcibly exemplified in this and other places of similar construction.

The present generation, more wise than its predecessors, has erected buildings in a way at once to combine utility, neatness, elegance, and healthfulness.

Among the modern built streets, I was pleased to find one called Washington, in compliment to our illustrious citizen; and I remarked it as a singular circumstance, that it was immediately contiguous to Pitt Street. This part of Liverpool is laid out with much regularity, and built with no inconsiderable taste. The streets I have mentioned, with Duke, St. Anne's and Rodney's, together with St. George's Square, are uniform and elegant. Besides these, there is Great George Street, and one or two others in its vicinity, which are wide and regular, and through which a stranger will be gratified to stroll. The Mount is worthy of a visit, and if the person has a taste for botany, he will derive gratification and scientific amusement by extending his walk to the botanic garden in its vicinity. I made one short visit to it with Mrs. Martin, the intelligent and agreeable sister of the celebrated and learned Dr. Smith, president of the

Linnæan Society, and who resided at Norwich. It is planned with much neatness and taste, and the collection of plants both in the open air and green houses, is very numerous, comprising the productions of every quarter of the globe.

Liverpool is characterized for its public spirit, and hence it can boast of many charitable institutions. Among them, may be enumerated the Infirmary, which, in the period of fifty-five years, has relieved no fewer than 67,000 indigent persons; an hospital for children, and one for lunatics. There is also, the Blue Coat School, a Dispensary, several free schools, a Lancasterian school, and an asylum for the blind. Indeed, no town in the kingdom, London excepted, can vie with this place for the number and usefulness of its public institutions. These are all of very modern origin, for the town itself was not entitled to any other appellation than that of an insignificant village, at the commencement of the last century. In 1760 its population was little more than 25,000, and at present it is not much short of 100,000.

This rapid increase it owes to commerce, the greatest and most certain source of national wealth; but that most disgraceful species of it, the African trade, and which enriched so many of the adventurers therein, has been checked by a law of the

realm. But its commerce has been encouraged in other ways more honourable and more humane. "A magnanimous and liberal spirit, has certainly impelled the corporate body, and many individuals of this town, to the adoption and prosecution of several schemes of great local advantage and public good."

"Far as the eye can trace the prospect round,
The splendid tracts of opulence are found.
Yet scarce an hundred annual rounds have run,
Since first the fabric of this power begun;
His noble waves inglorious, Mersey roll'd,
Nor felt his waves by labouring art controll'd:
Along his side a few small cots were spread,
His finny brood their humble tenants fed;
At op'ning dawn, with fraudulent nets supply'd,
The padding skiff would brave his specious tide,
Ply round the shores, nor tempt the dang'rous main,
But seek ere night the friendly port again."

W. ROSCOE.

Such have been the effects of an enterprising commerce, active industry, and spirited pursuits: they have reared an opulent and daily increasing place from a wretched hamlet; and while Liverpool has been thus gaining a high rank among cities, others have not only lost their importance, but have become insignificant, as a necessary and inevitable consequence of inactivity, a less enlightened, and more contracted policy.

There are several libraries and news-rooms to which strangers may easily gain admittance. The two principal of these are the Athenæum and Lycæum, near to each other in Church Street. The former, I was told, is solely indebted for its origin to the joint efforts of the late Doctor William Currie, and Mr. Roscoe, the biographer of Lorenzo de Medici, and Leo X.

The exchange buildings, behind the town-hall, are in a style of much elegance, and do great honour to the place. Here the merchants assemble every day for an half an hour, only; and at the expiration of this, a person walks through the crowd with a bell, ringing it in the ears of all who are seen talking, and obliging them to depart. In rainy weather the assemblage take shelter under extensive piazzas.

I remarked it as a singular circumstance, that the market for vegetables, fruits, and a variety of small wares, was held in the open street; a mode extremely inconvenient, not the most cleanly, and which exposes the venders to all the inconveniences of very frequent showers.

The crookedness and extreme irregularity of the streets of this flourishing place are exceedingly perplexing to strangers; and no caution is always sufficient to prevent them from occasionally losing their

way: whenever this has happened to me, I have invariably met with a polite willingness to direct, provided I did not make my enquiry of a street passenger.*

From shop-keepers the stranger will always receive a decent attention, and he will at once perceive a desire to oblige. This circumstance, which I have had occasion to notice frequently, with a variety of others, has induced me to judge favourably of English hospitality and civility; for in every instance where an occasion has offered, they have both been displayed in a way calculated to remove prejudices, to render the former worthy of imitation; and to convince me that these prejudices were improperly founded.

We are too prone to judge of characters and of things in haste; from partial premises, erroneous data, or imperfect information; and I believe my countrymen have too generally formed their opinions of Englishmen from those who have visited the United States, and who, with a few exceptions, are not those from whom we should form an estimate of the national character.

In this way we have been too much deceived, and to make a trite comparison, have taken the shadow

* See Note I. at the end of the Volume.

for the substance. That politeness which peculiarly constitutes good-breeding, seems to me to be a distinguishing trait; and that hospitality, which flows from the soul, and which is always pleasing to a stranger, has not, with respect to me, been confined to those solely with whom I have had business, and who might be supposed to feign a regard from interested and selfish motives. Of this more hereafter.

Although there is not much of studied parade, or useless ceremony in the ordinary intercourse with the English, yet it is necessary to comply with some of their customs, to shun the appearance of singularity; and a due respect to a people among whom strangers are admitted, demands it. It is, then, almost indispensable for foreigners to adopt the prevailing fashion in dress, for reasons just stated; and it is in some measure a safeguard against that imposition which else might be practised upon them, especially by porters, knavish shop-keepers, and others of a similar class.

An anecdote or two will illustrate this. I had been in Liverpool some days when I was called on by an acquaintance, (a man of plain manners, and one of those who do not consider dress of much importance in any other case,) who, after surveying me closely in a dress made according to the American

fashion, observed, "this will not do: your pantaloons are too dark for the season; your coat is not in fashion; nor will your vest, hat, or boots do." He went with me immediately to a tailor, who soon fitted me in an English costume. I changed every part of my apparel but my hat, and by this I seem to have been recognized as a stranger. A few days afterwards, as I was passing down Pool Lane, and was crossing it obliquely, I observed a man standing before his shop-door, who seemed to notice me in a manner somewhat peculiar, and as I approached, evinced a design to speak. He accosted me with "I believe, sir, I have had the pleasure of seeing you before." "Not," I replied, "unless you have been in the United States." "I have never been there," was his answer. "Then, sir, you have not seen me before." The interview ended by his asking if I wished to buy a gold watch chain, of which he had a number in his shop window. I suspected him to be a sharper, and walked off.

I had not been more than two days in Liverpool, when, as I was walking through Lord Street, with an Englishman who had been a fellow-passenger from the United States, and who had on blue pantaloons and boots with white tops, we were noticed by two men on the opposite side of the way, one of

whom said, "See that Yankee Captain, with blue pantaloons and fair-top boots."

With much of good-breeding in combination with most of those qualities which make ladies of women, and gentlemen of the other sex, there is still, as in all great commercial towns, much depravity both among men and women. In the latter it is particularly exemplified by the number of filles de joie, or filles de chambre, who throng the principal streets as soon as night has shrouded them in darkness; and who, by their freedom of manners, and frequently by their obscenity, announce their profession, and the miserable condition to which they have been reduced. They are, however, seldom insolent. It is evident to a common observer that there is a vast disproportion in the numbers of men and women, and this may in part account for the crowd of prostitutes who infest the streets, and too frequently annoy passengers. An extreme inattention to the education of the lower classes of females, may be assigned as another reason. They seem indeed, in the manufacturing towns especially, to be regarded as an inferior class of beings, and not only unworthy of the protection demanded by their sex, but fit subjects on which shall be exercised the arts of cunning, dupli-

city, and villany by those who should be their protectors.

It will be, perhaps, somewhat hasty to assert that English women are not generally more beautiful than ours. With much of the rosy tint and alabaster white, they have less delicacy and regularity of features than American women generally. So fine indeed, are their complexions, that it often supplies the want of that conformation of features which peculiarly constitutes beauty; and I have frequently been mistaken in the opinion I have formed of a woman's face, from this circumstance. They owe to the peculiar nature of the climate, the fairness and floridity of their complexions. It is equally exempt from the scorching heat of torrid latitudes, which tans the skin and produces sallowness, and from the rigor of the icy regions which shrivels and contracts the features. The atmosphere is generally filled with a profusion of warm and moist exhalations, and a thick canopy of clouds intercepts the rays of the sun; thus adding to the influence of cleanliness and domestic comforts of the higher, middle, and some of the inferior classes, in giving a lively bloom to the countenance, and an evidence of vigorous health. Although I am willing to admit the general comeliness of English women, I am not disposed to admit the sentiment of

a late writer, that England is the native seat of female beauty, or that it is found here in a higher degree of perfection than in almost any other country.

The operation of the same cause, in part, which gives them such fine complexions, renders them more robust; and they have, consequently, not such good figures generally, or so much ease or gracefulness in their movements, as my fair countrywomen.

The complexion of the men is equally fine. It is, in fact, the reverse of that which betrays the residence of a Georgian or Carolinian, and except when I met one of these strolling along the streets, I did not behold any who had the brown hue bordering on the tawny, or the sallow countenances of half-animated beings, who seemed to have lived in dirt, or to have just risen from it.

LETTER III.

Neatness of the Houses and Furniture—English Kitchens
—Rights of the English—Cleanliness of the Servants.

ALMOST all travellers have remarked the extreme neatness and great attention to comfort, in the houses of the English; and I must add my testimony to others who have gone before me. With much simplicity, there is generally much of elegance. The furniture is not crowded, generally uniform in its appearance, plain, and of the best materials and workmanship. The rooms into which visitors are generally shown are not commonly decorated with paintings or prints, which in most well furnished houses have places appropriated for them. In every thing, indeed, which appertains to domestic economy, the English people may be said to excel; and this remark applies with like force to their houses, diet and dress, but more especially to the first. Domestic architecture has attained to the highest state of perfection: convenience with elegance, neatness with simplicity, and uniform attention to comfort in the whole arrangements, have combined to render an English genteel house the most complete of the kind, and a

model for imitation. Where few servants are kept, it has become a matter of importance to consult arrangement in the houses and furniture, by which so much labour is saved. From the kitchen to the garret, they are alike commodious; and of late years, the improvements of Count Rumford and other scientific men, with the ingenuity of the manufacturers in articles for domestic use, have united to render the first named apartment the most complete, decent, and convenient. Among the important purposes to which steam has been made subservient, it is here also converted to a variety of uses, such as boiling, stewing, &c. The opening for the fire is small, and almost every thing is hid behind a neat front of polished iron, and wherein are placed the various cooking utensils. Even the smoke is not suffered to pass off in mere waste, for in its passage up the chimney it puts a wheel in motion, which turns a spit. All this, however, excited my admiration less than did the extreme cleanliness, order, neatness and convenience of every thing appertaining to the cooking department.

Viewing the dresser scoured as white as if new; the tin and other vessels shining as if just from the maker's hands; the neat arrangement of the plates, dishes, &c. in brightened rows; I could not but com-

pare in my mind the whole system or arrangement with one of those kitchens, west of the Atlantic, where but little attention is paid either to cleanliness or convenience, regularity or order.*

I have seen, however, in some parts of the United States, kitchens but little inferior to the cleanest in England. This is particularly the case in the middle and eastern states, more especially, perhaps, among the Quakers. The Pennsylvania Hospital furnishes an instance of this kind which nothing can surpass.

The English servants are also greatly superior to ours; and those who have been accustomed to the management of slaves and negroes, will not fail to mark the difference. Without the disgusting filth, habitual carelessness, and general depravity which too generally distinguish the Africans and their descendants, English servants are withal civil, obliging, active, and obedient. They are and must be industrious; for few families keep more than a maid-servant, boy, cook, and sometimes a nurse where there are children. Even with a less number the domestic affairs are conducted with ease and regularity.

English servants call their employers master and

* For a minute and accurate description of the interior of an Englishman's dwelling, with all its furniture and decorations, I would refer the reader to the first volume of the Letters of Espriella.

mistress; but notwithstanding the distance which separates them, and the humility of the menials, they cannot—they dare not be chastised. Even in this aristocratic government, the most dignified peer of the realm is extremely cautious in striking his domestic: the latter may defend himself, or resort to the law for redress. It is prompt to afford justice, and herein Englishmen may boast of their rights. Poverty and dependence do not contribute to the happiness of this life, therefore it is cruel to make the state of those more uncomfortable, who are compelled to live in servitude, by any conduct which the laws will not justify, or at which reason or humanity revolt.

The rights which an English servant claims, and which are equally his due with the first citizen in the kingdom, do not make him impertinent or assuming. Treated with kindness and condescension, and receiving good wages, he is generally zealous and active in the discharge of his duties, for upon this, principally, he depends for a good character.

In the inns and coffee-houses, they are prompt and wonderfully active in their several stations: they are also polite and obliging; and the traveller gives the recompense of a sixpence, or one, two, or three shillings, according to the time he has been in the house, with as much pleasure for the civility with

which he has been treated, as they receive it with grateful thanks.

The servants or waiters always expect a reward, for many of them get no wages, but depend solely upon the douceurs, which long established custom entitles them to receive.

The appearance of many of the female servants is such as will sometimes almost embarrass a stranger, who may mistake the maid for the mistress. Their dress is uniformly neat, cleanly, made with taste, and with some regard to the prevailing fashion. Their duties are not arduous, and those who have the more important care of the house, have more or less leisure, which they may pass as they please. In common with the females of the higher ranks of society, they are generally comely, and often handsome.

LETTER IV.

Dray Horses—Mercantile Customs—Furniture and interior of the Houses—Breakfast—Dinner—Tea—Supper—Shops, and Shop-keepers.

I HAD often heard of the strength of the English dray or cart horses, and that the peculiar breed for draught was confined to that country. They are black, and their extraordinary size is indicative of great strength.

Their docility was equally surprising, and accustomed as I had been to the horses of the southern section of the union, particularly, dragging with difficulty a load of six or eight hundred pounds, I could scarcely credit the evidence of my eyes, when I saw the immense load which a single horse would draw. I asked a carman who was walking by the side of his cart, going up Brunswick Street, (which is of very considerable acclivity,) what weight he had in it; he replied 4500 pounds. It was a load of cheese. He told me his cart weighed 1800 pounds. I have seen two horses draw twenty-eight square and two round bales of cotton, which may be estimated to weigh, exclusive of the cart, 8500 pounds. And at various

times I have seen two hogsheads of sugar drawn by one horse. Fourteen bales of cotton is not an unusual load for a horse, and a weight equal to this, and often greater, may be noticed at almost any time. A gentleman, whose veracity I had no reason to doubt, told me that a horse of the kind to which I allude, has been known to draw on an iron rail-way, a weight of forty-eight tons.

Powerful as are these most useful animals, and gentle as they are strong, they are, notwithstanding, frequently over-loaded by their cruel drivers, from an unfeeling desire to know how much they will draw. The frequency of this practice produced a society for their protection, from which much good has resulted. There is humanity in this, and interest may be supposed to have a minor influence.

Strangers cannot too speedily be made acquainted with the habits and customs of the people, the mode and time of transacting business, the regulation of domestic affairs, &c. They may thus avoid the appearance of awkwardness, ignorance, or intrusion.

Among the commercial class in Liverpool little business is done before nine o'clock. At half past two P. M., the merchants, and those who have business with them, resort to the Exchange, already mentioned, where there are elegant and spacious room

for insurance, reading news-papers, and for various other purposes connected with mercantile transactions. The business of the day at this place is soon over; and, as I have observed in a former chapter, the officer, who is known by his dress, does not fail to announce the termination of the half hour, by ringing his bell.

Occasional visitors or strangers gain admittance into the public rooms of the Exchange by having their names entered in a book kept for that purpose, or by having a note to the keeper or manager, from a subscriber. Similar regulations exist at the Athæneum, Lycæum, and some other public places, which characterize the spirit, and mark the taste of the people of Liverpool.

Some of the merchants, especially those who have no families, and whose houses are at a considerable distance from their counting-rooms, dine at an ordinary or coffee-house; and also take tea there about five o'clock. Some do not return to business after this hour. Others dine at four o'clock, at their own houses, and at this time finish the business of the day. Many do not partake of this meal until dark, and candles are lighted. This is very common in the winter season.

The dining and other tables of the English are not

less neat than almost every other article of furniture; and in this respect, correspond with the general arrangement of their houses. The former are constructed with great convenience, and may be made to suit almost any number of persons who are to dine. Every thing, in fine, within the interior of an English dwelling is made for convenience; and it would seem as if ingenuity was incessantly tortured, to invent modes to lessen trouble and labour, or to please a capricious and ever-varying taste.

In most well finished and genteel houses, there is on the lower or first story above ground, a breakfast room, which is also the common sitting-room; a dining-room, parlour, and library. There is generally a nursery; and the bed-chambers are not the least ornamented, or least expensive part of the dwelling. Great taste is evinced in the furniture and decoration of the chambers: every thing corresponds in colour, and is fitted to the place where it is to stand; and here, as in every other part of the house, cleanliness is particularly remarkable. Herein these people seem to delight and to excel.

While I was partaking of the hospitality of a gentleman at his house in the country, I particularly noticed the simple and chaste elegance and uniformity of the chamber in which I lodged: he told me it cost

two hundred pounds sterling. There was but one bed in the room, two chairs, two small tables, painted of a similar colour, with the bed and window curtains; a mirror, utensils for washing, and steps, covered with Kidderminster carpeting, on each side of the bed.

The breakfasts are generally very frugal, consisting commonly of tea, and muffins or hot rolls, with good butter. Coffee is less frequently used; and it is seldom good. I could rarely get it strong or clear, and in this *only* does there seem to be any proof that the English do not understand cooking.

On the morning after my arrival, I was waiting for breakfast with a pretty keen appetite, as is usual with persons landed from a long voyage. I observed on a small table large enough for one or two persons, a tea-cup and saucer, a tea-pot, milk-pot, sugar-dish, plate, and a small catty with tea: the tea-kettle was boiling on an utensil with live coals; and presently a plate of warm rolls was brought in. The waiter said breakfast was ready. I asked where it was, and he pointed to the table. He was requested to bring in a beefsteak and an egg or two: he seemed surprised at this strange order, but quickly obeyed it. Such, however, is the force of habit, that I gradually became accustomed to this meal in the English stile.

Dinner is the principal meal, but even in this, the table is never loaded or crowded with dishes at one time. There is frequently more than one course, before the desert is brought in, or previous to the introduction of bread and cheese. Ale, table beer, cyder, and porter, constitute the usual drinks at dinner, and wine is seldom introduced until the cloth is removed. Port is commonly drunk, although in most genteel houses you will meet with Madeira. The last is generally less pure than is drank in the United States. The drinking of healths is nearly abolished; or at least that general salute of every one at table. It is commonly sufficient to address the person with whom you take a glass of wine.

One of the greatest peculiarities in the diet of these people, is the quantity of meats which they use; and if excellence in their kind, (especially beef and mutton,) be any plea for the apparent superabundant quantity that is met with in most houses, they may offer it with truth, and boast of it with justice.

Tea, with toast or bread and butter, is the general beverage of the evening; and of this it is said, more is used in England than in all the rest of Europe beside. It is drunk by all classes of people, from the most humble cottager to the richest and most fashionable citizen; but the better qualities are not used so generally as in the United States.

Supper, about ten o'clock, consists commonly of one or two dishes, perhaps the remains of the dinner, oysters, or partridges, if in season. These are excellent; indeed they are esteemed not only a delicacy, but a luxury. Hence they are frequently sent a great distance, as presents, to London, and it was here I first ate them; a few pair being sent from the neighbourhood of Bath to a friend with whom I supped. I would call the supper of these people the most agreeable meal. The business of the day being over, and the family assembled, with occasionally a friend or two, there is leisure for social conversation. Frequent opportunities of partaking of them, justify my saying that I would rather join an English family at their supper than at a dinner table, groaning with all the luxuries and dainties of the confectioner and pastry-cook. At the former, restraint and ceremony are banished; consequently there is more of unreserved chit-chat, in which the mistress of the house takes a part. Conversation has more charms for me, and is most delicate and refined, when kept up by women; and the tongue of licentiousness or libertinism is checked or restrained by their presence.

The shops or retail stores, are seldom opened in summer until eight o'clock, nor generally closed until eleven at night. Even in Liverpool, though a

place of minor importance when compared with London, a stranger is arrested in his way through the streets, by an almost involuntary attention to the shops of linen drapers, silversmiths, jewellers, watch-makers, print and booksellers, china men, &c. many of which display great splendour and opulence.

The shops of pastry-cooks, fruiterers, and confectioners, will also excite admiration, and one wonders to see the windows of these open at all hours of the day, even during winter. Such is the general hurry and confusion in the principal streets, such as Castle Street, Lord Street, Pool Lane, Paradise Street, &c., that often passengers take up a bun, a cake, or some fruit, as they pass the shop of a confectioner or fruit-seller, without stopping, and throw in the pay without inquiring the price.

In fine weather, in the summer season, there is so little darkness at ten o'clock, even when the moon is not shedding her borrowed light, that the streets are as crowded as during the day; and the votaries of the Cyprian goddess make their appearance in such crowds as to excite equal surprise, pity and disgust. In another place I shall extend my remarks on this wretched and despised class of society; and shall endeavour to account for that depravity which produces the incredible number which throng the sea-ports

especially; who are unmindful of the native dignity of the female character, but with unblushing front, and hearts steeled to the suggestions of chastity, display their meretricious charms, and with Syren voice too often beguile the unguarded passenger into their fatal snares.

That man must be a novice in the world, who would expect to avoid imposition in such a place as Liverpool; where the society is so heterogeneous, and the means of making an honest livelihood is attended with no inconsiderable difficulty. That strangers should be particularly liable to it, is neither a new remark, nor is the circumstance extraordinary. I was soon reminded after my arrival, that in dealing, it was necessary to guard constantly against imposition, especially from shop-keepers and traders. A native of Liverpool remarked to me that I should deal with every man as if I was dealing with a knave. I have reason to credit the justness of the observation. In no place have I ever remarked the prices of articles, at retail, to be more extravagant than in Liverpool; and it is almost universally the practice to ask more than will be taken. Even at the prices to which articles are very often reduced, if the amount be considerable, a discount of five per cent. sometimes more, will be made for prompt payment. A bill at

two months is considered as such; but if money be paid, a farther discount of one per cent. will be allowed. These remarks apply particularly to the retailers of goods.

With a knavishness that is too general, no class of the community are more civil and obliging than the shop-keepers; a customer is waited on with promptitude and politeness, and any article he may purchase, how trifling soever it may be, will always be sent to his lodgings if required.

LETTER V.

Public Houses, and established Customs in them.

THE public houses are called inns, but besides these there are hotels, coffee, porter, and ale houses.

On the day of my arrival in Liverpool, I took lodgings at the Star and Garter, in Paradise Street, a very quiet, decent, and well-kept house. The charges are moderate. Strangers should at once make enquiry into the customs and usages of the house, by which trouble will be often avoided. They are similar in all. The regulations are not arbitrary. No absolute or fixed hours are observed for meals, and each individual may breakfast, dine, and sup at any hour he may choose, and alone if he prefers it. Few breakfast early in the summer months, and it is not unusual to see persons partaking of this meal from eight until twelve o'clock, as may chance to be most convenient to them. At this meal, meats rarely make their appearance, and coffee very seldom.

The apparatus of the breakfast table I have already described.

Dinner may be ordered at any hour, and of almost any kind or number of dishes, of things that are in

season. The charge is in proportion to the one or the other, and hence a dinner may cost from three shillings to two guineas. In fine, travellers may in this respect be entirely regulated by their own taste and convenience.

In many of the best inns the landlord seldom makes his appearance, or seems to have the direction of the house. This is generally entrusted to a servant, who receives all orders, and payment for bills; and who, in fact, has almost the sole control and management of it. He seldom receives any wages, and yet, in some of the larger inns, his place is one of considerable profit. I have been told that a premium of a hundred pounds has been given for such a situation in some of the principal inns and hotels.

The waiters always expect (and indeed, very commonly demand it as their due) some compensation from every one who lodges or eats in the house: this custom is so well established as to have acquired the force of law. Strangers should know this and attend to it, for by neglecting to comply with the established usage, they will be censured for meanness, and not receive that attention which will be the reward of a contrary disposition. Should a visiter, however, chance to forget it at his departure, the servants will not fail to remind him of his duty even at the carriage

door; and the principal waiter, the servant who has commonly attended at table, the chamber-maid, and he who has cleaned the boots, will crowd about him, demanding, and anxious to receive their respective dues. The last mentioned personage is called "Boots," and he commonly acts as porter to the house. The sum to be given to the servants is not precisely fixed, but may be regulated by the will of the donor. It is somewhat at the following rate, where the person has not remained more than one night in the house.

To the principal servant one shilling, the same to the chamber-maid, and six-pence to Boots. Half of these sums for each night, is deemed a liberal compensation where the person has been several days a lodger.

LETTER VI.

General Traits of Character—Leave Liverpool—Public Coach—Ride to Manchester—Warrington—General Observations on Stage Travelling.

MY limited stay in Liverpool has compelled me to confine my remarks to a few subjects connected with this flourishing place. I shall hereafter extend them, and embrace in the view some observations on its public institutions.

I do not hesitate to declare that I landed in England with some of the prejudices too common with my countrymen; but I did not commence the voyage, like some travellers, with a determination not to be pleased, or in that unhappy mood, which embittered the hours of the learned Doctor Smollet, in his tour to Nice. Forming my opinion of the English people from better data than those who visit our shores from mercantile or speculative views, I believed them to be polished and polite. I know them to be enterprising, scientific, and ingenious. I had no just grounds for doubting their candour and liberality.

I arrived in England as a stranger, and was per-

sonally unknown to every individual. My letters of introduction were sufficiently ample, and soon made me acquainted with several respectable families. Here, frankness and social harmony, without trifling forms, or the restrictions too commonly placed on a stranger, made me feel as if I were in the midst of old acquaintance, and forced me to distinguish between native kindness and artificial forms. A kind reception, a frank and open demeanour, will compel the stranger to believe he is not viewed as such, but that he is received into the family as one who is to share its confidence and partake of its pleasures. The behaviour of the female part demands still more my unqualified praise and approbation. They are affable without familiarity, and condescending with dignity. In conversation I have found them to be sprightly, unreserved, and intelligent; without that coyness or reserve which is very generally intermixed with the best qualities of the heart in the women of my own country, they are yet not without that modesty which heightens every charm, and adds dignity to every other trait. In such company, pleasure and improvement will both be received.

With favourable impressions then, of the English character, and especially of the females, I set out from Liverpool on the 17th of July, for Manchester.

I had taken and paid for an inside seat in the coach which leaves the Angel inn, in Dale Street, but not finding this very comfortable, I changed it for one on the outside. Elevated above the horses, I did not think my seat very secure, and the terrors which I felt from my situation were increased when the coachman cracking his whip, the horses went off in a full gallop down a considerable descent, now and then turning a corner, at the risk of being upset and dashed against a house or on the pavement. The driver was very skilful, the horses well broke, and he managed them with surprising dexterity. Accidents, however, sometimes happen even with the most expert, and coaches are overturned. These are generally the consequence of carelessness, or the most unpardonable imprudence in the drivers, who seem neither to care for, nor to regard the safety of their passengers. They less frequently occur with the mail coaches, whose drivers, although compelled to arrive at stated periods, are not urged by that ambition which induces the drivers of the opposition coaches to lash their horses with unfeeling severity, that they may arrive one, five or ten minutes before their opponents.

A short time since, one of the coaches from Manchester to Liverpool was overturned, from one of the wheels striking a stone wall at the bottom of a hill.

Three of the passengers on the top were killed, and the others wounded. Those who were inside were not injured.

After I had rode a few miles I became reconciled to my situation, and was pleased at the change I had made. It afforded me an expansive view of the country on either side, and the day being unusually fine and unclouded, I enjoyed with singular pleasure the opportunity of beholding the richness and beauty of English scenery.

Harvest time was near, and the ripened fields in neat and regular order, with the numerous decent cottages, and a brilliant sky, contributed to make the ride most agreeable.

A few miles from Liverpool I passed the very elegant seat of the celebrated or rather the noted self-styled Doctor Solomon. He furnishes a remarkable instance of the extreme credulity of the English people, who, believing in his quackeries, and being gulled by his impositions, have enabled him to acquire a fortune but ill-merited. He has amassed wealth from the sale of his nostrums, and particularly from his Balm of Gilead; but riches have not given him that character which a good man esteems as more valuable than gold and silver, and which neither will purchase. He is not respected for his talents, or esteemed for his virtues.

The road I was travelling, passed through Prescott, and Warrington, which place is mid-way between Liverpool and Manchester.

Prescott is an old, but somewhat neat and well built town, situated on the Mersey, over which there is a good stone bridge, built in the time of Henry VII. There are here manufactories of huckabacks, canvass, pins, and some other articles; but it is principally noted for its extensive glass works. The coach did not stop long enough to permit my viewing them. One of the proprietors resides and has a store in Liverpool, and I there purchased such as I wanted. In less than four hours from the time I left Liverpool, I reached Manchester, a distance of thirty-six miles.

Travellers in the public coaches who wish to have a view of the country through which they travel, should, in fine weather, take an outside seat, and the most agreeable one is with the coachman. Should circumstances, however, induce the person to take a seat in the coach, it not unfrequently happens that he may make an exchange if he should wish it. I made it a general rule never to take a seat on the outside, when I was compelled to travel in the night.

The common or accommodation coaches are calculated to carry six persons inside; and the mail

coaches are limited to four. On the front and rear seats, and on the top, of the accommodation coaches, I have seen ten full grown persons, beside those inside, and the baggage on the roof and in the boot. Some of these vehicles are double, that is, have a partition in the centre, which completely separates the passengers, who enter by separate doors, and who sit back to back. They have an odd and unwieldy appearance. There is another which is calculated to carry sixteen persons, who sit sideways, and several also on the roof; and yet this monstrous machine is dragged by four horses at the rate of six or seven miles an hour.

The mail coaches are protected by a guard, who rides behind and alone. He wears the King's livery, and is well armed. He has the direction of the coachman as to the hours of departure and stopping, and he is accountable for delays. These seldom occur.

For every stage of about ninety miles, it is customary to give the driver and guard one shilling each, or something less than this sum if you continue several stages. They never fail to remind passengers of the fees to which they are entitled, and there is scarcely a possibility of evading the payment, which has more the appearance of an unjust exaction than a reasonable due. It is sanctioned by custom, and has nearly the force of law.

LETTER VII.

Manchester—Bridgewater Arms—Cotton Factories—
 Sir James Arkwright—Infirmary—Exchange—The
 Portico—Old Parish Church—The Collegiate Church
 —General Remarks—Seat of the Earl of Wilton.

IN this metropolis of the cotton manufactures, the coach put me down at the Bridgewater Arms, an old inn, and more worthy of a preference from its antiquity than its excellence.

This is strictly called a traveller's inn, as will soon be perceived from the promiscuous assemblage of whips, great coats, spurs, saddle-bags, and portmantaus; and the coach passengers are generally ushered into a room where these implements of travelling are heaped together, unless they should order a private one. A little observation taught me that the passengers in the common and mail coaches do not receive the same attention from the servants of the inns, as if they were in a hack or private carriage. Appearances often command respect and attention; and in England, as in other places, it sometimes takes the place of worth.

There is always a crowd in this house, and there is more of bustle than of comfort. In the inns of the

smaller towns and villages, there is most commonly a portion of civility about the people, which is less frequently met with in the large manufacturing towns, where people seem to be served as if it were in the way of trade. There is in the latter so much hurry and confusion,—servants running hither and thither, that it is difficult to command their services sometimes, even for a few minutes.

The table was not, in general, well supplied; and the coffee in particular (my favourite beverage) was not fit to drink. It did not, indeed, deserve the name; and it was in vain that I directed, intreated, and almost scolded. It still was brought to the table, weak, turbid, and without flavour. Being more expensive than tea, it is not so frequently drunk, and the mode of making it does not appear to be well understood.

Manchester is more than equal in size to Liverpool, and is second only to the metropolis. To a stranger it is most interesting from its numerous cotton manufactories. They are indebted for their present importance to the improvements made in the machinery by Sir James Arkwright, who by his extraordinary genius, and great mechanical powers, rose from poverty and obscurity to wealth and fame.

With the exception of these immense spinning

and weaving establishments, this town does not offer many inviting or interesting objects; and he who has seen cities where taste and elegance have combined their powers to please the fancy, or captivate the view, will trace the streets of this flourishing place, without any of those sensations which arise from beholding beautiful and highly finished works of modern taste.

The houses are of brick, of a very dusky hue, (as in Liverpool,) which is much increased by the smoke of coal consumed in private dwellings, and the numerous cotton factories both in the town and immediate vicinity.

Many of the dwellings, and most of the warehouses, which are generally large, are built on narrow and crooked streets, from which the light of the sun is excluded a considerable part of the day. Hence they have a dark and gloomy appearance, and their unpleasant exterior is increased by the very frequent rains, for which Manchester is almost proverbial. Of later years, a more correct judgment and better taste have formed a few handsome streets.

Excluding the manufactories, few places are less interesting than Manchester; hence strangers are seldom pleased with it; and their dislike is increased by the peculiar manners and habits of the people,

which are not of that polished nature which is the general characteristic of the better class of Englishmen; which gives to society more than half its charms, and which would almost make a desert agreeable. The whole community seem to be involved in business: the warehouses and shops are closed at one o'clock, which is the hour of dinner, and they are opened at two.

A modern writer of celebrity, in speaking of this place, has remarked, that it contains above eighty thousand inhabitants; and adds, "imagine this multitude crowded together in narrow streets, the houses all built of brick and blackened with smoke; frequent buildings among them as large as convents, without their antiquity, without their beauty, without their holiness; where you hear from within as you pass along, the everlasting din of machinery; and where, when the bell rings, it is to call wretches to their work instead of their prayers—imagine this, and you have the materials for a picture of Manchester." There is much truth in this, and yet there are some things in this populous town not unworthy the notice of those who visit it either for pleasure or business.

With all its wealth and population, Manchester is not entitled to send any members to parliament; but is merely considered as a manor.

It dates its origin from the reign of Titus, in the ninety-seventh year of the Christian æra. For more than two centuries it has been known and distinguished for its manufactories of fustian; but at a very late period it has grown into great importance, from the highly improved state of its immense factories of cotton, which give employment to thousands of people in the town and parish, for an extent of many miles in every direction.

Silk and various other goods are also made in the neighbourhood, which find their way to this place of general deposit, and resort of purchasers. The numerous and extensive warehouses are stored with all the variety of useful and fancy articles which the industry and art of an ingenious people can supply. Even to those not engaged in trade, it is interesting to examine the diversity of beautiful fabrics which are exposed for sale, but it is much more to view the cotton and spinning factories, which, with their thousand wheels, keep up an eternal din.*

I did not meet with any difficulty in procuring access to them. They have made Manchester populous and flourishing, but they have not added to the growth of virtue among its people.

* See Note II. at the end of the volume.

It should have been observed before, that Manchester is situated about three miles from the Mersey and near to the junction of the Irk and the Irwell, which last has been made navigable for boats of about thirty tons, by which, but more especially by the Duke of Bridgewater's grand canal, with its intermediate branches, a constant and easy communication is kept up with Liverpool, and other places on the small rivers above named. This has greatly contributed to the importance of Manchester.

Interspersed with many good buildings, where cleanliness, comfort and plenty have their abode, there are a vast number of wretched situations, blocked up in narrow lanes and streets, where both air and light are so sparingly admitted, and filth is suffered to accumulate in such a manner, that the miserable tenants, deprived as they are of almost every comfort that can render life desirable, to superadd to their wretchedness, are scarcely ever without an infectious disease,—a pestilence almost exclusively theirs, or confined to the wretched hovels of the depressed poor.

The Infirmary of Manchester is an extensive building, of a modern and plain structure, having in its front a sheet of water, encompassed by a brick wall. Attached to it also are pleasant gravel walks,

bordered with shrubbery, which add considerably to the beauty of the ground.

Within a few years an Exchange has been erected, which is indeed a magnificent structure, but infinitely less grand than that which graces Liverpool. The Portico or news-room is also a superb building, and contains a small but good collection of books.

The next building most worthy of notice, and the most remarkable, is the Old Parish Church, venerable for its antiquity, and an object of curiosity from its size and singular interior workmanship. It was erected in the fifteenth century; its stile is Gothic, and it was the first of the kind I had seen. To one who has never been within the walls of such a structure, it is impossible to convey any perfect or adequate idea of the impressions which rush on the mind, upon passing the threshold. It is forcibly seized by a mixture of awe and wonder from the whole interior of the church; the large painted windows, of small panes, incased in lead, and the still more curious and incredible quantity of carved work, in oak, so rude in execution, and grotesque in design, as almost to set gravity a laughing. These curious figures, many of which are unlike any thing in the air or on the earth, fill the sides of the chapel,

and almost every other place not occupied by a better taste. They alone would seem to have been the work of many years; and indeed, they are so much unlike any thing modern, that they easily lead us back to the reign of Henry the Seventh.

Over the altar are suspended the colours of the seventy-second regiment, which was raised in Manchester, and which fought so bravely under General Elliot, at the siege of Gibraltar.

This building suffered very considerably at the time it was besieged during the civil wars which so much distracted the kingdom.

Within its walls are the tombs of many of the ancient nobility, the inscriptions on a few of which I had just time to read.

While I was strolling along the aisles of this ancient edifice, with Mrs. H——, who was my guide on this occasion, I heard the voice of somebody who seemed to be at prayers. A respect for the place I was in, and a desire to hear distinctly what he was saying, induced me to draw near, when I beheld a very decent man in appearance, in a sacerdotal gown, reading the church service, in a way which gave me a very unfavorable opinion of his piety. His manner partook so much of levity, it was so cold and unimpassioned, there seemed to

be so little of feeling or reverence on the occasion, that I was convinced it was with this unworthy representative of the holy Author of the Christian religion, much more a matter of form than of respect for the sacred duties he was performing. The responses of a few boys who belonged to the church, by their peculiar voices and their manners, added to the levity of the scene, and induced me to withdraw in disgust from a place, whose sanctity ought not to have been thus profaned.*

From the church I proceeded to the College, or as it is sometimes called, the Collegiate Church, a venerable but inelegant pile of buildings, containing a large collection of books on all branches of science, with a few natural curiosities. Several circumstances induced me not to form a very favourable opinion of this seminary of education, which is confined to boys of a particular age, who are clothed in a blue cotton frock, fastened round their waists with a leather belt, and on their heads they wear a cap. Their whole dress seemed more adapted to that of the fifteenth century, or to that period when the school was a monastery, and fanatic monks occupied its cloisters and its halls.

* See Note III. at the end of the volume.

Strangers are readily admitted to every part of the building, which, however, does not contain much that is interesting. I was shown the skin of a snake fourteen feet long, which was killed a few years before, in the college; and a sword and shot-bag of the usurper Oliver Cromwell. There are some other things which visitors are permitted to see, which do not merit recording.

We were conducted to the bread room, and to the cellar where the beer is kept. The former was very coarse, brown, and unpalatable; of the latter I took a glass, and found it to be pleasant. On leaving the place, it is usual to present the guide with six pence or a shilling. Every thing must be paid for in this country. Almost every one who renders the smallest service, and especially if he is in the lower ranks of society, expects to be paid for it.

Mrs. H—— and myself continued our walk two miles from Manchester, to the residence of Mr. Wood, who is the proprietor of extensive works for printing cotton. The examination of all the machinery and processes for dyeing and stamping calicoes, was particularly interesting. The finer kinds are impressed by brass rollers, on which the figures are cut, and many of these I was told cost thirty pounds sterling each.

At the house of Mr. Wood I took tea, and spent an hour or more with his family very pleasantly. They treated me with characteristic hospitality. This is another instance of the facility of forming acquaintance, and tended to increase the good opinion I had formed of the breeding and politeness of Englishmen.

My stay in Manchester was short, but it was yet long enough to induce me to believe the general report well founded, that the citizens of Manchester, taking them collectively, are not very polished or very hospitable. They are, in general, uncourteous to strangers, and they seem to care but little for the offer of those attentions, which the former expect, and which always produces very favourable impressions. Money seems to be their idol,—the god they adore; and in worshipping this their deity, they devote but a small portion of their time to those liberal pursuits which expand the mind; they indulge very sparingly in the pleasures of fire-side chit-chat, or the cheerful table converse. These remarks would seem to be at variance with the opinion I have several times expressed of the liberal and hospitable spirit of the people, and it must be understood that I confine them to the *trading* part of Manchester.

Having effected my business in this dusky town, taken a seat in the mail coach, settled my bill, and told the chamber-maid to call me in time, I retired to bed; and next morning had an agreeable ride through a highly cultivated country, to Rochdale. I passed the seat and park of the Earl of Wilton, who was just enclosing his beautiful and extensive grounds with a very high brick wall.

LETTER VIII.

Rochdale—Its Manufactures and Canal—Parish Church
—Road to Halifax—Blackstone Edge—River Calder.

ROCHDALE takes its name from the little river Roche, and dale from being situated on the former which winds through a pleasant valley. It is in Lancashire, at the foot of a range of hills (or mountains as they are here called) named Blackstone Edge, and which divides it from Yorkshire.

The principal part of the town is built on the base of the hills bordering the insignificant stream just mentioned, and which scarcely deserves any other name than that of a rivulet. It has a good stone bridge over it at this place, and some distance below the town, it empties into the Irwell. The buildings are generally of brick, covered with slate, but present nothing that is attractive to the stranger. They contain about 10,000 people.

This place derives considerable importance from the manufactories in it and its neighbourhood, of hats, baize, serges, flannels, and coarse cloths of various kinds. Except for the flannels, which I think are of

equal fineness, but not so soft as the Welsh, there are other towns in Yorkshire where a better selection may be made, for the market of the Southern States.

From J. and K. Holt, and R. and J. Gould, I purchased some plain and spotted flannels. The warehouse and works of the latter are about a half a mile up Market Street, a little to the left, on the way to Halifax. Those of Messrs. Holts are situated on their beautiful farms about one mile from Rochdale, and near the canal.

I prolonged my stay one day, that I might accept the invitation to dinner from Mr. Robert Holt, and thus increase the means of acquiring a knowledge of English manners, and their mode of living. There was a large party of ladies and gentlemen at table, all of whom were disposed to keep up a cheerful conversation, and to afford pleasure to the whole circle. Their manners and their conduct contributed to increase the favourable impressions which had been made on my mind, of the urbanity of these "proud islanders." At their homes, and at their fire-side, where the real character most frequently unfolds itself, I have found them to be frank, social, and hospitable; nor are these amiable traits less predominant in the females than the males.

The canal of Rochdale is of immense importance to the town and neighbourhood. It is thirty-two miles in length, and forms a junction with the Duke of Bridgewater's canal in Manchester, and with the river Calder in Yorkshire. A communication by this canal is now made to Liverpool for small vessels, which coast from London to Hull.

Rochdale is surrounded by towering hills, from the summits of which a very interesting scenery is presented,—the view embracing cultivated fields, clothed in the brightest verdure, and having dispersed over them many spacious and elegant dwellings, and mills for various purposes.

On the top of one of the steepest hills, which rises a short distance from the river, is situated the Parish Church, an ancient and small building; and particularly remarkable for the ascent to it, by a flight of one hundred and twenty steps, each rising about six inches. I strolled for an hour through the grave yard of this ancient place of worship, and read the epitaphs of many, whose bones had been mouldering there since the middle of the seventeenth century. What a lesson for human vanity and pride!

I took lodgings at the sign of the Roe Buck, a small house situated near the bridge, at the lower

end of a narrow, crooked, and dirty street. The accommodations are not very good.

At five P. M. I took my seat on the top of the coach for Halifax, but finding the crowd on it made it uncomfortable, and as none of my companions seemed to be of a character from whom I could derive pleasure or information, I soon exchanged it for one in the inside.

The road for five or six miles has a very considerable ascent until it reaches the top of Blackstone Edge. It passes over a barren moor, totally unfit for cultivation, and producing heath and peat in inconceivable quantity. A great quantity of the latter, cut into small squares, were piled up to dry for the approaching season. It makes a brisk and not unpleasant fire. On this waste land (which is considered as common,) a great many sheep were feeding. They were from Wales, of a small breed, and principally intended for the Liverpool market.

The prospect from the top of Blackstone Edge is highly picturesque. Such is the elevation of this ridge above the surrounding country, that I found the air in the middle of July so keen, that a great coat could have been worn with comfort.

After crossing this eminence, the road is much better, passing through a country teeming with cot-

tages, with here and there an elegant villa, between highly cultivated fields, and sometimes winding along the edge of hills at whose base the river Calder finds its way. On this stream are many large mills for various purposes, but principally for those connected with the manufacture of cloths.

The Calder has its origin in Blackstone Edge, and as it approaches the town of Halifax becomes a considerable stream, navigable for small vessels. It afterwards passes by Wakefield, and ultimately empties itself into the Humber, on the north side of which Hull is situated.

An extraordinary fertility characterizes the valley through which the Calder glides; and the lofty hills by which it is bounded on either side, although they are extremely rugged, are clothed to their summits with a luxuriant growth.

At half past seven I arrived at Halifax.

LETTER IX.

Prejudices of Englishmen respecting the United States—
Peasantry of Yorkshire—Observations on the People.

AT different periods since my arrival in England, I have had occasion to notice various circumstances connected with that class of the people who form the strength and bulwark of the nation.

That false notions have been formed and erroneous deductions made concerning them, I have never doubted; but the large mass of my countrymen, either from not having correct sources of information, or unwilling to give credence to what they hear, have their opinions riveted into a confirmed belief, that the peasantry of this country are a debased and degraded people.

It is unfair and dangerous to the elucidation of truth, to make hasty deductions; and when we endeavour to state the condition of a people, or to make a comparative estimate of their real enjoyments, much circumspection should be observed, and correct data should be had.

Travellers are too frequently precipitate and careless. Again and again I had occasion to remark and lament it, in men who have visited the United States, and who, without the means of enjoying a general and familiar intercourse with the inhabitants, but whirling rapidly along in the mail stages from New England to Georgia, without ever glancing at the interior of the country, where the character of the nation exists in the strongest colours, at once form opinions respecting their habits, manners, resources, literature, pleasures, pursuits, and moral character. Such a traveller was Weld, and such a one was More, who merits greater praise for his poetical genius, or for his translation of Anacreon, than for the strength, correctness, or liberality of his observations on America.

Foreigners who visit the United States to acquire information concerning their topography and geography; to learn what is the physical and moral state or condition of the people; to gain a knowledge of their habits, manners, and dispositions; of their literature, arts, and manufactures; in fine, to collect materials, from which alone such conclusions could be made as would be warranted by truth and justice, should not confine themselves to sea-ports, or Atlantic towns or cities. They ought not, I repeat, to consider the inhabitants of these, as being

a counterpart of the American people, and I feel a pride in declaring, that the large body of my countrymen are not such as throng the streets and houses of the commercial cities,

Robust, healthy, and industrious; cultivators of their own soil, and equally sharing in all the advantages which are diffused by a mild government, they are attached to it equally from duty and gratitude. There are few paupers, and still fewer want any of those comforts which are required for the welfare and good condition of the mind and body. They are contented; and possessing the means (so far as external and adventitious circumstances contribute towards it) of being happy, this is more effectually secured and promoted, by the excellence of their political institutions.

In passing censure on most of the travellers from England, who, in visiting the United States, have merely skimmed the surface of things, and have viewed them with partiality and jealousy, I should be cautious, lest I also subject myself to the like censure: but if I do err, it will be in a liberal manner, and which Englishmen will certainly applaud. Some of my own countrymen may charge me with over-weening fondness, and undue partiality.

It being on Sunday when I passed from Roch-

date to Halifax, I had a favourable opportunity of seeing the peasantry of this part of Yorkshire. The hills are studded and the roads bordered with neat stone cottages, which, if I could judge from the number who thronged their yards, contained a numerous population. They were of both sexes and all ages; and contentment seemed to be expressed in their countenances. They were uniformly clad with neatness, and in their faces was depicted the choicest, best gift of nature,—health; this, ruddy and firm, seemed to be their's in the fullest state. Their children were numerous and lively, and, if we had no other means of judging of the state of a people, the above would not be the most fallacious.*

Several causes combine to produce in the external appearance of the common people, a degree of comeliness, which is not perhaps so generally to be found among a similar class in any other part of Europe.

A great diversity of character however, exists here, as in all other countries, where there is such an overflowing population, with so vast a disproportion in the distribution of wealth, producing a correspondent distinction of habits, manners and opinions. Hence it is somewhat difficult, precisely to

* See Note IV. at the end of the volume.

define national character. It is generally, but certainly very injudiciously; intended to express prevalent manners, which, ever varying and changing, do not represent any genuine trait of the mind, or any thing which is uniform, stable, or consistent.

Literary men who have made mankind a subject of peculiar study, agree in one point, that human nature is every where the same; and that the diversities in characters are the uniform result of education, of the influence of moral and physical circumstances, of geographical situations, peculiarities of climate, and historical events.

The character and constitution of the people of this country, are said to be principally moulded from "the perpetual variations of the climate, and the freedom of the political constitution." The influence of government and its laws, upon the manners, habits, and opinions of a people, is, indubitably, very great; and from the ease of the first among all classes, with the indulgence which is given to an expression of opinions on all matters connected or not connected with the government, we may admit with some justice, that the English have a right to boast of their independence and freedom.

Englishmen have long had the character of being

liberal, hospitable, and polite. My observations, thus far, confirm me in the opinion that they are so.

One who had been accustomed to the frivolous and unmeaning manners of a neighbouring nation, and who, in searching for character, would examine only the surface of things, might, at first view, mistake the natural bluntness of Englishmen, for rudeness, and their frankness for incivility. Frequently under an exterior somewhat coarse (as the beauties of a gem are hid by rubbish) the best qualities of the mind exist in ample store. They have been charged by some travellers as being lukewarm, and sometimes frigid. If this be admitted as a truth, solid reasons can be offered in justification of their prudent caution and occasional reserve.

Circumstances have combined to bring the best part of the English character into view. I mean that character which is something more than midway between the depressed state of the poorest and most ignorant manufacturers, and the higher ranks, who substitute wealth and titles for qualities; and who, with parade, forms, and ceremonies, impose on the multitude or the thoughtless, appearances for realities, or the shadow for the substance.

Since my arrival in the kingdom I have experienced an uniform kindness, which, as being offer-

ed to a stranger, could not but be pleasing, and, being as unsolicited, must originate from disposition. I have liberally shared in the rights of hospitality; and a civility which I would call characteristic, has been shown by those to whom I have been introduced by business or accident.

Under such circumstances, it would be ungrateful not to be pleased, and it would moreover evince a want of taste which I should be sorry not to possess. I need scarcely say, that the few prejudices which tintured my mind on my arrival, are almost removed, and with the opportunities which have been offered me of forming an estimate of character, I must add, in a spirit of justice and liberality, they were ill-placed.

LETTER X.

Visit to Mr. Rawson—Cloth Manufactory—Laws for the Protection of the Cloth Trade—Instrument for Beheading—Employment and Condition of the People—Piece Hall—Market Place—Church of the Holy Trinity—Gothic Church of St. John—Grave-Yard, and Reflections on it—Bathing-House—Huddersfield—Cloth Market—Woollen Manufactures—Arrive at Leeds.

MUCH of the good, and many of the ills of life depend on fortuitous events, and these have frequently controlled the fate of individuals. By a single fortunate circumstance, many men have been raised to the pinnacle of fame and fortune; while others, from an occurrence equally unexpected, have been sunk to the depth of degradation and wretchedness. Few events are so trifling as not to be of some importance, in a life so checquered as that of man; and so large a portion of which is made up of occurrences neither to be foreseen nor controlled.

I am indebted to accident, for some of the most happy and pleasant scenes of my life; and by one I became introduced to the acquaintance of Mr. Raw-

son, of the house of Messrs. Threlkeld and Co., clothiers.

From Messrs. Hughes and Duncan of Liverpool, I had a letter of introduction to the elder Mr. Rawson, and enquiring for his residence, at the inn where I stopped, I was erroneously directed to the residence of his son.

A polite invitation induced me to visit the different parts of his warehouse, and for the first time I witnessed most of the processes for finishing cloths. Of this house I made some purchases of cloths, cassimeres, vestings, &c. He introduced me to his family in a most hospitable way, and from them I experienced the kindness of an old acquaintance. In the evening I waited on his father, whose residence is about one third of a mile from the centre of the town, in a spacious brick mansion, on the brow of a beautiful eminence, sloping gradually to a narrow valley, through which runs a limpid stream. He told me he had seven sons, all of whom were clothiers, like himself; and who were settled in Halifax or its vicinity. An hour or two passed off in conversation on desultory matters, and I was pleased to find a coincidence of opinions respecting the peasantry of Yorkshire. His were the result of a long experience, and of a knowledge

obtained from the best data. National partialities had, no doubt, their influence on his mind; but, from my own observations, I am not disposed to believe they had warped his judgment, or perverted falsehood into truth. He told me the people were industrious and contented, and most strongly attached to their "own homes and firesides."

Halifax, with the exception of a few places, bears a resemblance, in the form and appearance of the buildings, and the crookedness and irregularity of the streets, to most of the towns I have yet seen in this country, which date their foundation more than a century. Some of the oldest houses yet remain: they are formed of frame work, and the interstices are filled up with clay. The rest, and more modern, are built of stone, which being cut into oblong squares, somewhat resemble whitish bricks, and such I at first view supposed them. The stone is conveniently procured in the neighbourhood, and not being very hard, is fashioned without much difficulty to any shape. Many of the buildings are large, but without much elegance.

In the middle of the fifteenth century, there were not more than thirty houses in this place, but in the succeeding hundred years they had increased to considerably more than five hundred. A branch of

the Calder passes by Halifax, which has been made navigable to the Aire and the Ouse. Though the soil in the vicinage of this town is of the most stubborn nature, its peculiar situation is a source of wealth to the inhabitants. From the surrounding hills issue many streams, which afford numerous sites for various mills and machinery for the woollen manufactures. These have been for a long time established throughout the parish of Halifax, and the town itself became the grand mart for their sale.

In their commencement, they required the patronage as well as the protection of government; and peculiar laws were made for their security and advancement. The necessary, and indeed, the indispensable exposure of the cloths both by day and night, on racks and tenters, in the open air, required a law, harsh, and almost cruel in its penalties, to protect the property of individuals. This law was passed in the reign of Henry VII. and provided that capital punishment should be inflicted on any person who was convicted of having stolen cloth to the amount of thirteen and a half pence. Decapitation was the common mode, and it was effected in the same way since adopted by the French, in a man-

ner, and with a frequency, which would disgrace a savage people.

The beheading instrument was called by some writers *a maiden*, and it is particularly mentioned and described by Camden in his *Britannia*, a folio work, published in the early part of the seventeenth century. It was in Halifax until the year 1620, when it was removed; but the stone basis on which it had stood, remained many years afterwards. Several historians have mentioned that the Earl of Morton, at the time he was regent of Scotland, took with him a model of this machine, and that he was the first individual who suffered under it.

The various manufactures which form the wealth and capital of this parish, extend over its whole space; and although every spot of arable land is cultivated, yet almost all the people are artificers. Every field, even to the summits of the hills, has its house and tenter grounds, where the cloths are hung out to dry; and while the females and younger persons, card, spin, and do the least laborious parts, the men weave, dress the cloths, and work at the dye-vats.

The land, even with the utmost force of cultivation, does not produce more food than is sufficient, perhaps, for the maintenance of one tenth of the

people; yet comfort and plenty seem to be the result of that cheerful spirit and active disposition which have so long characterized the inhabitants.

Thus has bountiful nature, in denying to the people of this part of Yorkshire a prolific or genial soil, bestowed on them equivalent advantages, which they have not failed to improve. The opulence of Halifax is seen from the number of spacious and elegant seats in its immediate vicinity; some of which have rather the resemblance of palaces, than of private dwellings.

The manufactures of this part of Yorkshire are not solely confined to cloths; a variety of worsted stuffs are also made. Not many years since, one hundred thousand pieces of shalloons were annually fabricated in the parish of Halifax alone.

But there is a reverse in its prosperity, and Halifax cannot now boast of an ascendancy in the cloth market. Many of its manufactures are now carried to Leeds, which, from its size, and being in the centre of the various minor manufacturing towns, has become the residence of the larger capitalists who now control this highly important branch of trade.

Leeds will be the subject of consideration hereafter.

Halifax can boast of several public edifices, which equally evince the taste, the public spirit, and the opulence of the inhabitants. The Piece Hall or Market-house, erected about thirty years since, by the manufacturers, for the convenience of their trade, merits the first notice, as being pre-eminent in size and beauty. This elegant building is made of white freestone, and encompasses the four sides of an oblong square. It is three stories high on three sides, and two on the other. The balconies are supported by circular pillars, composed of a single stone, and the floors are made of large square stones. Each story is divided into small rooms, which are held as freeholds by the various manufacturers in the neighbourhood, who bring their cloths on the market day, and what are not disposed of, are permitted to remain. The whole building contains 315 rooms, each of which is numbered, and has the proprietor's name painted on it.

It is difficult to express the sensations I experienced when I entered the beautiful green plat, surrounded by a building at once so grand and simple. I thought of ancient Rome, Athens and Corinth, and of the amphitheatres of Adrian and Vespasian. I gazed and I wondered, and the more I looked, the

more was my mind hurried away with emotions of pleasure and admiration.

Besides this magnificent hall, the town has a very spacious market-place, in which the stalls are arranged so as at once to combine convenience, neatness, and uniformity; and attached to the market-square on one side, is a handsome range of brick shambles.

On a rising ground within the town, there has been built within a few years, a stone church, dedicated to the Holy Trinity, combining in the Grecian stile, great elegance and neatness. I cannot say any thing of the interior of the building, or of the old Gothic church dedicated to St. John, for the day was so far advanced I could not get admittance into either.

The last named venerable building, is in its exterior form and general appearance, very similar to others I have seen. Admiration is always the effect of beholding Gothic structures: they seize upon the mind, and take it back to ages and to times, when an unenlightened and but half civilized people, deemed no expense too great, and no structures too bold or too grand, as offerings to the Deity, or to be consecrated in his name. The characteristic boldness and grandeur of Gothic buildings are particu-

larly calculated to awaken in the beholder, sentiments of awe and reverence; and perhaps, at a period when learning was so sparingly diffused,—when few men could either read or write, it became more necessary to excite such sentiments, where religion was but little understood, and the pure spirit of it was not shed on men's minds to guide them to the worship of the Most High God in a rational way. *Forms* were then substituted for the *essence* of religion; and those were the most holy places where genius, art and labour had combined to erect buildings, the boast of former,—the admiration of the present age.

The walls of the church of St. John rise to the height of about forty feet, having numerous little turrets projecting from them; a square massy steeple in which there is a clock and chime of bells, and several chapels attached to it.

Adjoining to this place of worship, (as to others I have seen), is the ground for the repose of the dead. A large space is covered with tomb stones, over which people pass (as through the streets) with unhallowed steps, seemingly unconscious that beings, once active like themselves, are there sleeping the sleep of death, and that they also are hurrying to their eternal abodes. I like not this irreverential

exposure of grave yards; which, added to the frigid manner in which worship is generally performed in the cathedral churches, has no little tendency to diminish our respect for the one and the other.

The dead demand from the living a decent respect; their remains should be hallowed; our sensibilities should be alive when we are trespassing on their graves, and we should not rudely press, with profane steps, the sod which covers their breasts. Repetitions of this kind blunt our feelings, and render us more callous to those impressions which would otherwise be made on the mind.

When we enter the silent walks of a grave yard, it should be with thoughts pure, and bereft of the world, and all its bubbles; we should reflect that the thousands who are there mouldering to dust, were once busy and animated beings, and that we shall be shortly placed there,—alike to decay; while our spirits shall soar in the regions of space, or await the final day of judgment. We are taught a lesson by the usages of barbarous nations, and those who have advanced but midway to the highest stage of cultivation and civilization; they generally exhibit the strongest proofs of a veneration for the departed; and this may probably originate from causes which operate less powerfully on the minds

of the most polished, where ambition, avarice, and the other usual attendants of civilization, divide and distract the thoughts, and wean them from that holy veneration for the dead, which seize on the mind of the half-tutored savage, or the simple unlettered peasant; in both of whom the genuine feelings of nature operate in their full force, unshackled by forms, and unrestrained by art. Of such a people, hospitality is generally a characteristic: the peasantry of Wales, from the reports of intelligent and respectable travellers, illustrate both these traits. Their church yards are in a stile of decency and neatness seldom observed in the more *civilized* and *fashionable* part of Great Britain, and to their humble mansions the wearied traveller has always a welcome. Their manners are simple and plain,—undisguised by forms, but sincere and unaffected.

A burial ground is the ultimate end of life's journey, the point at which suffering mortals meet repose from the shafts of malice, the stings of disease, from dangers that threaten or alarm, and from the cup of misery. Whatever may have been the views of individuals in this life, whether ambitious or unaspiring, whether mean or noble,—whatever the wishes which filled their breasts, whether in

consonance to religion and virtue, or infidelity and vice; they all terminate in the grave. Within this gloomy, dark, and narrow cell, the wretched dependant, and the proudly gay, rest equally well,—unconscious of their former difference. The haughty and the humble, the oppressed and the oppressor, the gay voluptuary and the retired indigent, the statesman and peasant, the philosopher and the untutored labourer, here mingle together, and in one undistinguished mass mix their mouldering remains.

What then should be our feelings when we enter a cemetery, where so true and so solemn a picture is presented of this life and all its vanities? There we behold how transitory is all our greatness, how insecure our pleasures, how fleeting our prospects of earthly happiness! Other thoughts than those of the world and all its uncertainties, should occupy the mind; and we should there be taught by the purity of our lives and actions, to meet that Being who has granted us a momentary loan of life, and to whom we are accountable for it.

Adjacent to the town of Halifax, in a pleasant valley, dotted with neat farm houses, with here and there a little copse issuing from the green bed, enlivening, beautifying and varying the landscape, is

one of the most convenient and elegant bathing houses I have seen in any country.

Besides a number of distinct apartments for hot and cold baths, there is, without doors, a bason of pure transparent cold water, in which a person may swim, and attached to it are dressing rooms. The bottom and sides are of stone, neatly and closely united. Similar to this, there is one under cover, and the floor and sides of the bason are of fine white tile.

The baths are the property of an individual, who hires them to subscribers annually, and no others are admitted unless by a ticket from a subscriber, or accompanied by one.

Immediately contiguous to the baths are pleasant, winding gravel walks, bordered by green parterres, and clusters of various shrubs, irregularly and fancifully disposed; and for the amusement of the people, who often resort hither after the labours of the day, there is a beautiful bowling green. A number of decent mechanics were amusing themselves as I passed; and stopping awhile to see their games, I found them to be extremely civil and courteous.

I am indebted to Mr. Rawson, whom I have already mentioned, for a number of civilities; and a

considerable portion of my time during my stay in Halifax, was spent with his family, in which I was treated with a frank hospitality, which forces me to believe there is in the English character generally, a disposition to kindness and civility, from the pleasure which it affords, as well as from its being considered a duty. Farther experience will determine the correctness or incorrectness of this opinion.

Being furnished with a horse by this gentleman, I accompanied him to Huddersfield; a market town, seven miles distant. We passed over a rugged country, which afforded some very extensive and picturesque views, crossed the Calder at the village of Eland, over a stone bridge of several arches, and in about one hour and a half, reached Huddersfield.

I made so short a stay in this place as to be unable to give a description of it. It being market day, I took a hasty walk through the cloth hall, which is of a circular form, consisting of two stories, but not divided into rooms like that at Halifax. It was built at the expense of Sir John Ramsden, baronet. The area of the whole structure is divided into two courts; and at every door there is a handsome cupola, in which there is a clock and bell, which last is entirely used for opening and closing the market. This is held weekly on Tuesday, and is over at

twelve o'clock. The cloths which are brought for sale, are elevated about one foot above the ground, and the compartments allotted to each person are about two and a half feet in width. The owner's name is painted on every one, and here the cloths are piled on each other to the height of five or six feet.

I was somewhat prepared for a view of this novel sight, but the quantity I saw was altogether incredible. It enabled me to form a much more correct idea of the extent and importance of the manufactures of Yorkshire, and yet what I here saw was of comparative insignificance to the quantity manufactured and disposed of at Leeds, Bradford, and Wakefield.

The woollen manufactures of England are of the highest national importance, and are an inexhaustible source of wealth to her people. It has been computed that twelve millions of sheep are annually shorn, which, at the moderate rate of five shillings per fleece, is three hundred thousand pounds sterling; and when we add to this amount the increased value of the wool when manufactured into cloths, cassimeres, &c., and also take into view the thousands who are thus constantly employed and supported, we can more easily form an estimate of

the value this trade is to the kingdom.* It has been calculated that the amount of the woollen manufacture is fifteen million five hundred thousand pounds sterling, annually; and it now employs a greater capital, as also the greatest number of workmen, and is productive of a greater net profit than any other manufacturing concern in Europe.† Few subjects are more interesting than the history of the numerous and ingenious manufactures of Great Britain,—to trace them from their earliest state, and to mark their progress from the first and rudest efforts of untutored art, to the wonderful perfection to which ingenuity has brought them.

Writers do not agree as to the period when the woollen manufacture commenced, and although most of them are of opinion that some coarse cloths were made long prior to the reign of Edward III. yet, until this period, nothing particularly entitled to notice, was made. Before Elizabeth ascended the throne, almost all the wool was exported, and in 1551, sixty ships sailed from Southampton to the Netherlands, laden with it; but about this period, more extensive manufactures were established, and

* See Note V. at the end of the volume.

† Bigland's View of the World. Vol. I.

they soon increased to the annual sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds. The exportation of wool was prohibited by Charles I. and in 1660, an act of parliament was passed, prohibiting as well the exportation of wool, as of woollen yarn, and live sheep. Previous to the increase of woollen manufactures, the raw material thereof was the standard of property; and taxes, &c. were estimated by it.

From the attention which has been bestowed within a few years to the breed of sheep, such improvements have been made in the fineness of the wool, as to make some of it little inferior to the Spanish. The cloths of Wiltshire, manufactured from the wool of the vast flocks of sheep which roam over Salisbury Plain, almost rival the best Spanish textures.

It is to be supposed, the breed of sheep will be yet more improved from the influx of Merino and other Spanish sheep into the kingdom; and this circumstance, combined with the improvements in the mode of manufacturing cloths, it may be imagined will soon enable the English to equal her neighbours, the French or Spanish, in this article. Neither enterprize, ingenuity, nor industry, is wanting; and with these, the most improved machinery, and

the aid of chemistry in dyeing, &c., it is not difficult to form an opinion of the great progress which will be made in the manufacture of this valuable branch of commerce.

I had provided myself with introductory letters to the respectable house of Abraham and John Horsfall, of Huddersfield; but as I intended to make my principal purchases of cloths and blankets at Leeds, I did not remain long enough to accept a polite invitation to spend a few days with them.

At the former town I parted with Mr. Rawson, and took a seat on the outside of the coach, for Leeds. I have already mentioned why I preferred this seat; but this day I was compelled, from the dustiness of the roads, to exchange it for one inside of the coach; and had I known who were there, I should much sooner have relinquished the pleasure of viewing a rugged country, thickly settled, and well cultivated, for the enjoyment of agreeable company. On seating myself, I found my companions to be two elderly persons, and two young ladies, one of whom was as beautiful as an oval face, with regular and delicate features, a complexion vying with the lily and the rose, and brilliant dark eyes, could make her. The other, though somewhat older, and less handsome, was not much less interesting. They

were modest, but without that distant reserve and coyness which generally characterize the women of similar ages in the United States. Discovering them to be social and pleasant companions, I lamented that our acquaintance was to be so transitory, and that we were so soon to part for ever.

At three o'clock P. M. I arrived at Leeds; and took lodgings at Greave's Hotel.

LETTER XI.

Mr. Gott—Engraving of Trajan's Pillar—Leeds and its
 Environs—Mixed and White Cloth Hall—Mills be-
 longing to Messrs. Wormald, Gott, and Wormald—
 Steam Engine—Kirkstall Abbey—Harrowgate.

SOON after my arrival I waited on Mr. Benjamin Gott, of the house of Messrs. Wormald, Gott, and Wormald, to whom, as also to Mr. Gott, individually, I had letters of introduction.

A very short acquaintance was sufficient for me to determine that Mr. Gott was what he had been repeatedly represented,—a man who not only captivated by his address, but pleased by his manners, and informed by his conversation. He is a rare instance of mental and bodily activity. Of the immense business done by the firm, he seems to have the sole direction. Uncommonly active in the discharge of the duties of the compting-room and warehouse, he is not less so in his mind,—which he has enriched with an ample store of knowledge,

less perishable than the mass of wealth he has accumulated.

Sedulously devoted to the varied and extensive business of the concern, he is still alive to all the feelings of friendship, and sentiments of kindness. He received me with the warmth of an old acquaintance; and his invitations to his house and table, were offered in such a way, as to convince me they were not matters of mere form, or the result of common politeness, but the dictates of genuine hospitality, which prompts him to be kind to all, generous and friendly to many.

I accepted his invitations, and visited his house daily during my stay in Leeds; enjoying the conversation of a man, which was always interesting, and always edifying.

He has enriched an extensive and well selected library, with many scarce and valuable books; and he has added to it a well chosen collection of the best engravings, among which are many of Roman antiquities, taken from paintings, executed at a great expense.

I was particularly pleased with one of Trajan's pillar, nine feet in length, and separate ones of each compartment of this celebrated ornament of the ancient mistress of the world; reared to perpetuate

the fame of one of the best of men, and wisest of princes.*

Fond of the whole range of science, he has provided himself with almost every thing that is requisite to prosecute his studies and researches with facility, usefulness, and success.

The environs of Leeds are hilly and picturesque: some of the eminences are beautified by spacious and elegant mansions; while taste and art have combined their powers in the laying out and embellishment of the grounds. In this there is a prevalent neatness, peculiarly characteristic of the English; while an endless variety proves they are not governed by the rigid rules of form and fashion.

Leeds has been rendered by trade, especially in that of woollens, one of the most thriving and active towns in the kingdom. It may now be asserted, that it is the first market in England for woollen goods. It is surrounded by other towns of inferior note, each of which has a portion of trade, exclusively its own; yet they all contribute to increase that of Leeds, as tributary streams add to the bulk of a river without diminishing their own magnitude.

* See Note VI. at the end of the volume.

The river Aire is here navigable for small vessels, and divides Leeds from very extensive suburbs on the south, which are attached to it by a handsome stone bridge.

The houses are of brick; many of them are spacious and elegant, and in the modern stile of architecture.

In its plan and general appearance it bears a resemblance to the other large towns of Yorkshire, but the streets are somewhat wider, and less irregular. Improvements are making daily; and with a prosperous trade, Leeds would soon rival Manchester and Birmingham. It now contains about sixty thousand people.

This town boasts of great antiquity, for it is mentioned both by Bede and Leland;* and some account has been given of it as it appeared during the time of

* The former of these historians was born at Wearmouth in 672, and was educated in the Monastery of St. Peter, where he continued the rest of his life, in writing and instructing the younger monks. He died in 735. The latter was antiquary-royal of England, and became chaplain to Henry VIII. Six years of his life he devoted to travelling, and in searching the records of antiquity, in cathedrals and other religious houses: his valuable collections he presented to the king under the title of a "*Newe-Yeare's Gifte*." Before he finished this work, he was seized with a malady, which terminated an useful life in 1552.

Edward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror. It was here that Richard II. was confined in the year 1399.*

It contains many public buildings and charitable institutions, among which the Infirmary has long been known in the United States for the many advantages it combines, and its excellent arrangement and management under the venerable Mr. Hey. Of this gentleman I shall speak hereafter. It has also five churches, and eight dissenting meeting-houses. Among the former, the Parish Church of St. Peter is worthy of seeing.

As connected with the trade of Yorkshire, as well as for its size, the Mixed Cloth Hall should not fail to be visited. It is of brick, one hundred and twenty seven and an half yards in length and sixty-six in breadth, divided into six covered streets, each containing two rows of stands, measuring twenty-two inches in front. The whole number of stands is eighteen hundred. These are held by manufacturers

* Historians differ in opinion respecting this fact. It is certain there are no vestiges of the fortress in which he was confined. It seems to be admitted, that after Richard was deposed, subsequent to his return from Ireland, he was taken prisoner, and confined in Pontefract or Pomfret Castle, where he was starved to death or murdered, in the year above mentioned, and in the thirty-fourth of his age.

as freehold property; but it is indispensable that every individual shall have served an apprenticeship to making coloured cloth, before he is admitted into the hall.

The White Cloth Hall, so named because no coloured cloths were sold in it, was erected in 1775: it is of a quadrangular form, and contains rather more than twelve hundred stands.

Both these buildings are under excellent regulations. They are governed by trustees; and the business of buying and selling cloths on the market days is effected with remarkable expedition, ease, and silence. The immense and almost incredible quantity of cloths which I saw here, are made in the country about ten miles to the south of Leeds, fifteen miles to the south-west, and about ten miles to the north and west.

I have before observed, that the very valuable woollen trade of the West Riding of Yorkshire, centers in Leeds; and it can boast of some of the largest factories in the kingdom. The principal of these belong to Messrs. Wormald, Gott, and Wormald, all of which I viewed. They are the proprietors of two very extensive cloth mills in the immediate vicinity of Leeds; and both, as also a very large one

for the fabrication of blankets, are situated on the river Aire.

An idea may be formed of the magnitude of these works, when the reader is told that they have about twelve hundred people in constant employment; that on one of their manufactories they have insured the sum of 150,000*l.* sterling; and that their daily sales average 1000*l.*

At their mill or manufactory for coarse and fine cloths, I witnessed every process, from the selecting and assorting the wool, to the scouring and spinning it, through the subsequent processes of weaving, dyeing, and dressing the cloth for sale. All the various and apparently very complicated machinery of this extensive range of buildings, is put in motion by the force of steam,—the engine moved by which is equal to the power of forty horses. This is the usual mode of calculating their force.

My imagination could not have figured to itself any thing more beautiful in mechanics than the machinery of a steam engine; effecting so much with so little manual labour, and without producing much more noise than the wheels and pendulum of a common clock.

It is not my object, nor is it in my power, to give a description of this beautiful machine. The best ef-

forts would fail without plates, which would accurately delineate every part. An idea may be formed of their economy in time and expense, when it is told, that a vat for dyeing cloths, containing nearly fifteen hundred gallons, and which in the former and common mode required several hours to heat to the degree of boiling water, can now be made to boil by the forcible admission of steam, in about as many minutes.

Steam engines are taking the place of all other modes of propelling machinery, and they are almost universally adopted in manufactories of cloth, cotton, and the metals; for raising water, coal, &c. from mines; and in fine, for all purposes where great manual or other force is requisite.

To the inventor of this machine, or any one of similar utility, a civic crown, a statue of brass, or the highest national honours, is much more justly due, than to him who erects his fame on the field of battle, amidst slaughtered thousands, or on the wreck of his country's happiness and glory.*

There is an extensive manufactory in Leeds of canvass and other coarse linens, resembling those

* See Note VII. at the end of the volume.

made in Germany, which the mere traveller, or the merchant, would do well to visit.

Some cotton factories and foundries have also been established, which are worked by steam engines. The articles made at the former are not offered at prices which will admit of their exportation.

In the neighbourhood are some potteries for coarse ware, which is principally exported to the continent.

On the river Aire, and the streams which are tributary to it, in the neighbourhood of Leeds, are mills for grinding wheat, rasping wood, and for all the purposes connected with the making of cloths, as carding wool, fulling, &c.

Among the things which are worthy of, and should attract the notice of a stranger, is Kirkstall Abbey, two miles from Leeds, although but little is left of what was once a magnificent building. It is now without a roof. Its Gothic walls, overspread with venerable ivy, with the numerous little cells formed for the repose of the monks, carried me back to ages of superstition and dark ignorance, yet still I eyed them with a satisfaction which such venerable piles have always afforded me. While I thought of the stupid infatuation which induced men to seclude themselves from society, to pass their days in inde-

lence, too often in luxury, and not infrequently in the indulgence of criminal passions; and *all this*, in the name of, and under the garb of religion, my mind still traced with delight the destruction or overthrow of these nurseries of fanaticism: passing down the current of time through darkened eras, when men wandered as without a guide, to direct the road to virtue and happiness, it was brought to the present age, when religion is not made a mysterious *something* to frighten and deceive the vulgar herd, and its rites not exercised in *secret* only, to increase a veneration for its devotees. The night of superstition, the fog of religious intolerance, are passing away before the sun of reason; and men now worship the Most High God, according to the light of truth, and the dictates of their consciences and their wills.

This ancient abode of bigotry, was a religious house of the Cisterian order, founded by Henry de Lacy, in the reign of king Stephen, who was crowned in 1125 and died in 1154. It has commanded the notice of painters, who have given several ~~fine~~ views of it. It is seen most advantageously from the road which leads to Bradford. What was once a stately structure, has now a melancholy, forlorn, and desolate appearance.

I accepted the offer of a horse from Mr. Gott, to visit Harrowgate, distant eighteen miles from Leeds. This is a much celebrated Spa, the resort of fashion, and of those who ape it. I passed through the small villages of Chapellalerton and Harewood, crossing at the latter place a handsome stone bridge; and at twelve o'clock I stopped at the Granby Inn, in High Harrowgate.

I remained at this place but a few hours, during which I strolled out, and beheld men of all ages, and of all degrees, or of no degree, sauntering like myself without any object in view, and seeming to be at a loss in what mode to pass the listless hours.

Some excuse for this misapplication of time might be offered, if there were in the rude works of nature or the finished productions of art, any objects to arrest the attention or to please the fancy; but Harrowgate presents nothing of this kind. The houses, which are generally decent in their appearance, are built on the edge of a most sterile common, overgrown with heath, and not productive of a single plant grateful either to the smell or taste of man or beast. Some of the buildings are spacious, and they are generally built of stone. Most of them appeared to be in the occupation of persons who reside here

only during the summer months, to minister to the fancied or real wants of the visitors.

The medicinal spring at Lower Harrowgate, has given a celebrity to the place which otherwise it never would have attained. It is supplied from a copious spring, not far distant from High Harrowgate. It is extremely unpleasant both to the smell and taste; and from the best information I could obtain, its celebrity is rather owing to what may in some measure be deemed characteristic of the nation, *surprise*, than to its possession of any peculiar medical properties. The disagreeable qualities of Harrowgate Spa are its best recommendation.

The rigid forms of fashionable society are banished from this place, and the familiar intercourse which exists among the visitors, in some degree compensates for the uninviting scenery attached to Harrowgate.

They breakfast without a strict regard to time, in dishabille, and dine at a common table. The afternoon is generally spent in riding to Knaresborough, Fort Montague, Hackfall, or Studly Park.

The dreary scenery of this place, forced me to recollect the humorous and satirical remarks of Dr. Smollet on this uninteresting resort of capricious fashion; and although the accommodations have

been much improved since the days of the splenetic doctor, the natural advantages, or rather disadvantages, have remained the same.

Unwilling to add to the number of idlers, or to be myself one, I hurried away from a scene of lounging and dissipation, with greater pleasure than I went to it: intending, as I returned, to visit the pleasure grounds and gardens of lord Harewood, but in this I was disappointed, from there being fixed days on which visiters are admitted.

I dined at the village of Harewood, and in the evening returned to Leeds. The wild and majestic scenery of Knaresborough was now described to me in such glowing colours, as made me lament my hasty departure from Harrowgate.

LETTER XII.

Visit to the City of York—Description of its Cathedral—
Notice of the city, with reflections.

I AM justified in recommending to the American merchant, the extensive manufacturing house of Messrs. Wormald, Gott, and Wormald; which, from its capital and credit, is able to execute all orders with promptitude; and from the character of the firm, is entitled to unlimited confidence.

Common carpets, or those generally known in the United States under the name of Scotch, are also extensively manufactured in Leeds, by Messrs. Cookson and Fawcett; and almost all the varieties of worsted goods, may also be purchased upon as good terms as in any other part of the kingdom.

In a country abounding with so many of the works of art, and especially where there are such numerous remains of ancient grandeur, bigotry and folly, that man must possess a more than lukewarm curiosity, who cannot each day discover

something to excite it,—something to arrest his attention.

The ancient city of York is worthy the traveller's notice, from its celebrity in history, its remains of former magnificence, and especially from having within its limits a massive building, which has withstood the wreck of ages; whose gigantic walls will bid defiance to the cankering tooth of centuries to come; and will remain, as it now is, a subject for contemplation.

I took a seat in the mail coach, and passing through Tadcaster, I arrived at ten o'clock, P. M. The distance is twenty-four miles.

My approach to this celebrated place was through a spacious gateway, under an immense arch. A considerable part of the former is demolished, and time is committing daily ravages on the latter. After being hurried through several narrow and crooked streets, the coach put me down at the "York Tavern and Inn."

The principal object of my visit to this venerable place, was to see the yet more venerable church, called the Minster, York Cathedral, or the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter. My anxiety was so urgent, that I hastened to take a view of it by glimmering star light; and even thus I was highly grati-

fied. Such a massive pile, with numerous painted windows of immense height; the lofty walls crowned with turrets, with here and there an immense tower shooting far above all surrounding objects; were sufficient to impress my mind with strange and awful sensations. The effect by moonlight would be singularly grand.

So faint and imperfect a view only heightened my desire to make a more satisfactory examination by day light; and I longed for the approach of morning. At an early hour I hurried to gratify my anxiety. A hundred beauties, which had escaped my notice in the dark, now forced themselves upon my observation. Whether I gazed at this superb edifice on the one side or the other; whether I reviewed it on the south or the north, at the west or the east ends, it was alike impressive, bold, and majestic.—I returned again and again, and always with renewed pleasure, to look at this magnificent monument of former ages;—an object of praise to the founders; of admiration as long as time shall spare it; and deservedly the boast,—the pride,—the wonder of York.

As yet my view was only of the exterior; and it being Sunday, I waited with impatience for the doors to be opened. The archbishop in his prelatical

robes, and his attendants in their clerical costume, had entered the south door, in stately pomp, when I followed; but instead of proceeding forward to that part of the church where service was to be performed, I advanced only a few steps; and as if it were by some secret power, I became fixed to the spot in mute astonishment at the magnificence around me. For awhile I was bewildered, but as soon as my mind had regained its usual state, I passed on to the chapel, and took my seat near enough to see the service performed, but not to hear it.

The solemn sounds of an organ, with the chanting of the singing boys, would have elevated my soul to heaven, to reverence that Being for whose worship the people had assembled; but it was abstracted from the solemnity of the time and place; and my eyes were continually wandering to and fro to gaze at things rare, curious, and strange, which every where surrounded me.

Service being over, I proceeded to the north transept of the church, and thence down the north aisle of the nave, to the western front of the building. Here I could have feasted my eyes for hours with the numerous beauties which fill the immense windows at this end; but I was almost irresistibly compelled to turn and extend my view up the in-

conceivably magnificent vista to the east end. Here description must cease: the sight defies all the powers either of the pen or the pencil; nor can the imagination itself figure any thing corresponding in grandeur to the real sublimity which here surrounds the beholder.

Let any one who has never seen such a building, imagine a hall of more than five hundred feet in length, more than a hundred in breadth; the vaulting of the nave ninety-nine feet, and the height of the roof of the towers from one hundred and ninety-six to two hundred and thirty-five feet: let him also figure to his mind yet more grandeur, in the immense columns of small pillars springing from a common base, to a height which is almost painful to the eyes to reach, and which there unite their flowing capitals: let him, in addition, fancy an infinite variety of sculptured beauties in the roof and sides of the building; and he will then have something imperfectly painted on his mind, like the interior of the Cathedral Church of York. All who have eyes to discern and hearts to feel, must experience emotions on beholding such a sublimely grand display of taste and skill, which it were vain for the tongue or pen to express. To be fully comprehended, they must be seen.

While I was admiring these wonderful efforts of art, I was admonished that the doors were about to be closed, and that it was necessary to go out. Still unsatiated, I was determined to remain another day in York, that I might take a more minute view of the interior, and of some of the private apartments.

I strolled around the walls of York, which are tumbling to ruins (an emblem of the inevitable decay of all things,) and which once enclosed this famous place. The city has, in many places, extended beyond them; and what once formed a barrier for the inhabitants, now oft are enclosures to gardens and grass-plats. Such is the important change from the variableness of the times! Such is the consequence of a progression from a demi-barbarous state to a cultivation of the arts and habits of civilized life. These and many other reflections rushed on my mind, while I was slowly traversing the tops of what once opposed the inroads of hostile neighbours.

York was then in that district of Northumbria called Deira, and which now includes Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire; and at this period, the whole of what is now called Great-Britain was divided into a number of small and petty states, having opposite interests, possessing differ-

ent habits and manners, and, as the invariable attendant of such a state of political association, almost eternally at variance. The Britons were, at this melancholy era, constantly embroiled in intestine quarrels. York was the capital of Deira, which extended from the Tyne to the Humber. Such was the state of warfare in which the people were incessantly engaged, that a late author has said, "This kingdom of Northumberland exhibited a continued scene of political confusion, civil wars, and usurpations; and its kings were set up or deposed, expelled or assassinated, according as opposite factions alternately prevailed; until at last it shared the common fate of the other kingdoms of the Heptarchy, and was annexed by Egbert to that of the West Saxons. In these truly calamitous periods, war was the occupation of the people, and desolating transactions were widely extended. The historical pages of those eras are stained and obscured by the crimes and the miseries of the inhabitants. The view which the mind would take of the state of a part of Great Britain, during the establishment of the Saxon Heptarchy, is equally gloomy as respects the human mind, and the condition of human circumstances, especially if we extend it to the rest of Europe; for a frightful chasm appears, which is neither illumi-

nated by the rays of science or the scintillations of genius. Arts to meliorate the state of the people had not progressed; nor had literature aided in the advancement of civilization. This great and beneficial work was not begun until the introduction of Christianity. From this time we may date the dawning of science and literature. But ere this had civilized the people, softened their manners, or removed the savage traits of character, York was often the scene of intestine commotions; and to prevent encroachments from neighbouring enemies, a wall was erected around the town. From the accumulation of matter for ages around its base, it is now of moderate elevation."

The principal entrance at the period to which I have alluded (as it is at this time) was at Mickle Gate Bar; which, with the multangular tower and wall at this spot, is particularly worthy of notice. On the top of the gate in front, is the statue of a man much effaced. As I walked on the wall to the eastern part of it, I was led to a beautiful mount, adjacent to the new city gaol, (the plan of which is deserving of notice,) which it overlooks, and from which there is a good view of the surrounding country. From thence I descended to the base of the hill, where the wall is lost, and which brought me

to the banks of the Ouse. Here I was ferried over for a half-penny; and on a fine gravel walk, shaded by majestic oaks, I walked on the banks of this beautiful stream until the sound of the Cathedral clock announced the hour of dinner.

Few places present more interesting subjects for reflection and observation than the city of York, whether we consider it in its present state, as the chief of an extensive, populous, and commercial province, and the residence in winter of rank and wealth; or, in retrospect, as being highly distinguished in history. During the Danish invasions it suffered many and great calamities. Historians inform us it was honoured with the presence of several Roman emperors. While Adrian remained in Great Britain, he resided at York. Severus lived here for some time, and here he ended his days: it was made the imperial residence of Constantius Chlorus for some years. The emperor Constantius closed his life here; and here his son, the great Constantine, was clothed with the purple.

York was the focus of the Roman power, the central point of their military stations; and it was then the emporium of the northern parts of England.

In all the histories of England we find the name

of this city particularly distinguished, and it is mentioned as the scene of important events: but if history were totally silent respecting it, still is it worthy of attention from the number of ancient and modern public buildings which it contains; connecting with the foundation and preservation of some, and the destruction of others, transactions equally interesting to the moralist and historian.

Less than half a century ago it had within its walls, forty churches; and now it has twenty, besides several in the suburbs. It was impracticable, during my short stay, to visit even half of them. Most of them are in the Gothic style of architecture. The magnificent steeple of Allhallows or All Saints Church, in the Pavement; the pyramidal one of St. Mary's in Castle-gate, (although obliged to be taken down in part, from being struck by lightning a few years since,) and the porch in the Saxon style, of St. Margaret's church, in Wilms-gate, ought not to be overlooked. In addition to these there is the Castle, a monument of centuries, now converted into a gaol; a theatre, mansion house, hospital, lunatic asylum, assembly rooms, and a number of charitable institutions, which do honour to the founders. Not far from the Castle is Clifford's Tower, which was much injured from an

explosion in 1634. It has also two good and spacious market-places. Near to this city is a place called Knavesmire, celebrated for its races. It is on the road to Tadcaster, on a fine level ground; and for the comfortable accommodation of large parties, a grand stand of two stories has been built. A very spacious building for horse barracks is just without the city.

York now contains about twenty-seven thousand people. As before remarked, it is not a place of commercial importance; but possessing considerable rank, having a good society, and the expenses of living being moderate, it is in winter a very considerable resort for fashionable people. It is under the government of a Lord Mayor, whose powers are extensive; and it sends two members to parliament.

The river Ouse, which falls into the Humber, divides the city, and is navigable to it for vessels of considerable burden. The bridge over it is a handsome structure of five arches of stone; the centre of which is eighty-one feet from one abutment to the other, and fifty-one feet high.

This venerable place is less interesting from its general aspect, than from the number of distinct objects which merit notice. Pre-eminent among these, towering amidst a cluster of old and low

buildings, rise the walls of the Minster; and once more I must request my readers to accompany me while I take a more minute view of the interior. I now had a guide to conduct me through the different parts.

His aid was not wanting to point out the immense windows of curious glazing, divided into very small compartments, and covered with paintings of kings, saints, prelates, escutcheons, and representations from holy writ, through which, when the sun sheds his rays on them, a richly varied light is effused; nor was it necessary to show me the inimitable and florid style of the screen, which is of stone, and has a resemblance to filligree work; the endless variety of carving in wood within the choir, and which is as fine a specimen in it as the screen is of stone; nor was it required to show me the statues of fifteen English kings, placed in the screen, and arranged in the following order.

On the north side of the door.

William I.
William II.
Henry I.
Stephen
Henry II.
Richard I.
John

On the south side of the door.

Henry III.
Edward I.
Edward II.
Edward III.
Richard II.
Henry IV.
Henry V.
James I. of England.

These perishable monuments of regality,—these frail memorials of departed splendor, will, for a while, arrest the attention of the visiter, after he has recovered from the admiration which will be excited from a general inspection of the whole building. The sublime vaulting of the roof, the tall and slender pillars, the variety of beautiful tracery in the roof and windows, will almost compel the beholder to fall on his knees and worship that Great Being to whom this wonderful fabric is dedicated. While, I say, I did not want a guide to direct my eyes to these and a thousand other beauties which fill the roof, sides, and windows of the church, one was requisite to conduct me behind the altar, where there are many things commemorative of human greatness and of human vanity, but not much to please the refinement of modern taste. Here will be seen effigies in a kneeling attitude, in the dress of queen Elizabeth's reign, death's heads and other emblems of mortality, not perfectly suited to the magnificence of the building to whose walls they are fixed; but the visiter will observe much variety in sepulchral architecture, and while pausing to read the many tablets to departed merit and literature, he will be obliged to notice the tombs of the early founders of the church, and of those whose benefactions have honoured them with a requiem within

the walls. Some others ought not to be overlooked; and the statue of sir George Saville commands particular admiration, from the delicacy of the sculpture, and esteem for the worth of him to whose honour it is raised. He represented the city of York for twenty-seven years, and for his benevolence, patriotism, and private virtues, he commanded the love and admiration of his fellow citizens,—the grateful veneration of posterity.*

Amidst the scattered subjects which will command attention, the monument of Scrope will be noticed,—not for the skill of the statuary, but because he is mentioned by the immortal bard, whose name is less perishable than the marble which is designed to perpetuate the fame of Scrope: him, of whom he says,

“A lord of York, with whom it better show’d,
When that his flock assembled by the bell,
Encircled him, to hear with reverence,
His exposition on the holy text,
Than, on the field of war, an iron man,
Cheering a rout of rebels with his drum,
Turning the word to sword, and life to death.”

Shakspeare, Henry IV. Act IV. Sc. II.

* This monument to a man of “unsullied purity” and “unostentatious benevolence,” I find was particularly noticed by my countryman, Mr. Silliman, of New-Haven, who says it is

Two or three effaced statues of marble, will be seen recumbent in this part of the church; one of which is in the armour of the ancient knights, and another is supposed to be a Saxon layman: and near this spot is a fine sepulchral monument of Archbishop Bowet, who died in 1423. It is in the architecture of the Anglo-Normans; and perhaps a richer or more elegant specimen is not to be met with. This primate was the second son of Henry VI.

Passing through the north aisle of the choir, a small marble image in a lying position will be observed, which my guide informed me was that of William de Hatfield, second son of Edward III. It is placed under a very rich tabernacle work, and merits very close inspection; but amidst the variety which is here offered, and which I cannot attempt to name, it will be difficult for the mind to rest on a single object.

Leaving the choir, the visiter is brought immediately under the great lantern tower, the loftiest part

“uncommonly beautiful.” He is in the attitude of presenting a petition to parliament praying for a peace with America. How honourable were such efforts, and what feelings ought they not to call forth in every American who beholds this lifeless emblem of his country’s friend! Such is the masterly execution of the artist, that the statue wants seemingly, only a spark of Promæthean fire to start it into life.

of the edifice; and upon which the eyes will feast with peculiar delight.

This part of the building is thus described:—

“ The clustered columns that support the arches, massy as the weight of the incumbent building requires them to be, appear light and elegant. The four arches that spring from them, and from which the four sides of the tower rise, are, we believe, not exceeded, if indeed they are equalled, by any, for the greatness of the span, or the comparative airiness of their appearance. A rich cloister-work above the arches is succeeded by an embattled gallery. Eight well-proportioned and highly-finished windows admit the light, and the roof springs from an equal number of elegant columns placed in the corners of the tower and between the windows. Among the armorial bearings that adorn the walls of this tower, appear those of Walter Skirlaw, the great benefactor to this part of the building; and the arms of England, emblazoned in such a manner as to prove that this tower was not completed till the reign of either Henry the Fifth or Sixth.”

My visit to this noble pile by starlight, conveyed to my mind something like an impression which the lucid rays of the moon would have produced had I

been standing under this part of the high-vaulted roof.

Such is the description by Scott:—

“The moon on the east oriel shone,
Through slender shafts of shapely stone;
By foliage tracery combined,
Thou wouldst have thought some fairy’s hand,
’Twixt poplars straight, the osier wand,
In many a freakish knot had twin’d;
Then form’d a spell, when the work was done,
And changed the willow wreaths to stone.
The silver light so pale and faint,
Showed many a prophet and many a saint,
Whose image on the glass was dyed.
* * * * *
The moon-beam kissed the holy pane,
And threw on the pavement a bloody stain.”

The grandeur, majesty, and sublimity of the interior of the lantern tower, is indeed altogether of a character which I cannot describe.

To return to my guide, whom I have left behind: we passed on to the outer and inner vestries, in the former of which there is not much that is worth seeing. Two old chests, which were wont to be used as treasury boxes; some large presses, which once contained clothing and canopies; and a pump said to be near six hundred years old, with a

stone fount near it, in which kings were baptised, are all that were shown to me. In the inner vestry a number of reliques are carefully preserved. Among them are found rings of Bowet, Nevill, and others, many centuries old. There was also a wooden head, found in the grave of Archbishop Rotherham; and three silver chalices found in the graves of as many archbishops. I was also shown a superb pastoral staff of silver, which Catharine II. of Portugal presented to Smith, her confessor, in 1687, when he was nominated to the archbishopric of York. But that which is most admired, as well for its size, the elegance of the workmanship, and for its important connection with the revenues of the church, is an ivory horn (so called) about two feet long, on which is the following inscription:

Cornv hoc Vlphus, in-occidentali parte
 Deirae princeps, vna cum omnibus terris
 et redditibus suis olim donavit
 amissum vel abreptum
 Henricus Dom. Fairfax demum restitvit.
 Dec. et capit. de novo ornavit
 A. D. MDCLXXV.

It is thus translated:

This horn, Ulphus, prince of the western parts

of Deira,* originally gave to the church of St. Peter, together with all his lands and revenues. Henry Lord Fairfax at last restored it when it had been lost or conveyed away. The Dean and Chapter decorated it anew A. D. 1675.†

By virtue of this horn the church holds some lands of great value, contiguous to the eastern part of York, and which are, to this day, called Terra Ulphis. It was formerly ornamented with gold, and this decoration was the cause of its being stolen. This

* The Saxons in their geographical division of Britain, called that portion Northumbria which extended from the Humber to the Frith of Forth, and this was divided into Deira and Bernicia. I have already said what counties the former includes in the present division of the kingdom. Ulphus was prince of the western parts of Deira, about the close of the eighth century.

† The learned Camden mentions this horn in his *Britannia*, as an instance of the manner of ancient endowments; and the following passage is quoted by him as relating to this not inelegant Saxon curiosity:—

“Ulphus, the son of Thoraldus, governed the west part of Deira, and by reason of a difference likely to happen betwixt his eldest and his youngest sons, about his lordship and estates, when he was dead, he presently took this course to make them equal: he went without delay to York, and taking the horn with him, wherein he was wont to drink, he filled it with wine, and kneeling before the altar, bestowed upon God, and the blessed St. Peter, all his lands, tenements, &c.”

was taken off, and the father of Henry Lord Fairfax having found it during the civil wars which ravaged England, it was returned by his son, as already mentioned.

A very massive and antique chair, said to be nearly as old as the cathedral itself, was shown to me. I had the honour of sitting in it, where kings had sat before. Several British monarchs have been crowned in it.

It would require, however, a better knowledge of architecture than I possess, with a more intimate acquaintance with all the beauties of this wonderful fabric, to take more than a cursory notice of them.

Besides those I have mentioned, there are some statues in marble of exquisite workmanship.

The window at this end of the church is of unrivalled beauty and magnitude, being seventy-five feet high, and divided into two hundred compartments, which are filled with various representations of the Supreme Being, of monarchs, mitred priests, and various events recorded in Jewish and Christian theology. It is singular to notice the value of labour when this stupendous window was begun, about the commencement of the fifteenth century.

Four shillings a week was paid to the glazier for his work, and he contracted to finish it in three

years. The other windows of the choir, and especially those of the small transepts, furnish beautiful and interesting objects of art and curiosity; but all these impressed my mind infinitely less than the lofty and acutely pointed arches, supported by tall and slender pillars, producing altogether such grandeur as it is impossible to describe, and affecting the mind with peculiar reverential feelings.

Immediately adjacent to the north transept, is the chapter-house; an octagon building, sixty-three feet in diameter, and in height, to the centre of the roof, sixty-seven feet, ten inches. Without a single pillar to sustain the superincumbent weight, it altogether depends upon the ingenious workmanship above.

After viewing the interior of the cathedral as much as my time would allow, I ascended to the top of the lantern tower by two hundred and seventy-three steps, and from thence embraced in one view the whole city of York, and many miles of the adjacent country.

Before I leave this part of my narrative, it may not be uninteresting to some of my readers, to say a few words on the antiquity of this building.

At different periods between the year 1069 (when the Northumbrians, aided by the Danes, revolted

from the Norman conqueror,) and 1227, the cathedral was successively rebuilt and destroyed. About the latter period, Walter Grey (whose tomb will interest the visitor for its design and workmanship,) erected the south end of the cross aisle, or south transept. The north transept was completed in the forty-fifth year of the reign of Henry the Third. Thus, at different eras, through a succession of nearly three centuries, aided by the powerful zeal of several eminent prelates, was this magnificent structure begun and finished.

To the antiquarian it will afford an interesting specimen of the state and progress of Norman architecture; and to all who have a fondness for sublimity, beauty, and grandeur, it will continue to excite praise and admiration, while a taste for these qualities are inherent in the mind.

By the devotee it will be regarded as a most splendid monument of the piety of former ages; and while I cannot refrain from blending with the religious zeal of those times, a considerable portion of bigotry and superstition, still the building, dedicated as it is to holy purposes, should, abstracted from this consideration, command a reverence from its vast size, style, antiquity, magnificence, and the sacred depository of the remains of distinguished men.

At each visit to this holy temple, I felt renewed pleasure, and upon entering within the threshold, my soul was elevated to the adoration of that Being to whose service it is consecrated.

The following are the principal dimensions.

Length from east to west,	524 feet.
Length from the west door to the choir,	264
Length of the cross aisles from N. to S.	222
Height of the lantern tower or steeple,	235

LETTER XIII.

Tadcaster—Bradford—Village of Eland—Sheffield; with remarks on its manufactures, and their general tendency—Mr. James Montgomery, the poet.

HAVING taken a seat on the top of the coach for Leeds, I travelled over a country less hilly and broken than any part of Yorkshire I had seen, and passed through Tadcaster. This is a very ancient but small place, and it is still only in the rank of villages. Its situation is nearly in the centre of the county, on the south side of the river Wharf, which empties into the Ouse. A good stone bridge has been erected above the junction.

The Calcaria* of the ancient Romans is supposed to have been built on the present site of Tadcaster; and that there was a settlement of these people here, is evident from the number of coins which have been found. It is, however, certain, that Tadcaster

* This name is derived from the quantity of limestone found in the neighbourhood.

is erected on the Roman military way that runs through Helensford.

On this road are several highly cultivated and beautiful seats; attached to one of which, the property of Mr. Fox, I observed a considerable forest, and from amidst it a handsome pillar reared its head above the summit of the loftiest trees.

After passing a day or two in Leeds, I recommenced my journey, and in little more than an hour I reached Bradford, a neat and well-built town, at the bottom of a range of steep hills, and in the immediate vicinity of a beautiful country. It contains some handsome buildings, a stately Piece-Hall, and an ancient Gothic church, which has a peal of fine-toned bells. A branch of the canal, which runs from Hull to Liverpool, passes through this place.

The situation of Bradford, in the very centre of the manufactures, in a fertile valley, with the neatness and opulence of the place, renders it of considerable importance, and not unworthy the traveller's notice. It contains about six thousand seven hundred inhabitants.

At Halifax I remained only a few hours to effect some business, when I resumed my seat in the coach at half past five P. M. for Sheffield,—passing

through the romantic village of Eland, built on the brow of a steep ascent from the river Calder, over which there is, at this spot, a handsome stone bridge.

We stopped to change horses at Huddersfield, and again between this place and Sheffield, where I arrived at two o'clock in the morning, considerably fatigued.

At the former place I again noticed the idle curiosity of the people, who assemble about the time the coach starts, as if the sight was a novel one, or not presented once or oftener every day. The crowd at Huddersfield was unusually great, from the coach having six horses in it.

Sheffield is situated in the West Riding of Yorkshire, at the junction of the small river Sheaf with the Don, both of which are subservient to mills for making bars of iron, sitting iron, and for grinding and polishing all kinds of edge tools. It is generally well built, increases in population, and is said by a late writer to contain 45,000 people.

A considerable degree of public spirit has been evinced in Sheffield in the number and excellence of some of its public institutions; and a school lately founded on the plan originally suggested by Mr. Lancaster. These reflect credit on the inhabitants.

The market-place, erected by the duke of Norfolk, is on a new and commodious plan. His property near the town is of great value.

There are several public places of worship besides the parish church, which is a large and handsome stone building, erected in the reign of Henry I. The general aspect of the town and the buildings is not very interesting, or agreeable to the ideas of modern taste; the streets generally being narrow, and the houses plain. In the vicinity, there is a rich and varied landscape; and the land is fertile, well cultivated, and adorned with many handsome buildings.

Sheffield derives less importance from its geographical or topographical situation, or from its population and political influence, than from the rank which it holds in the manufactures of the kingdom. For the excellence of its various works in steel and iron, it was celebrated in the days of Chaucer.*

* Until the middle of the last century, the manufactured articles of Sheffield were conveyed to London on pack horses. At this period, the Don was made navigable to within two miles of Sheffield, which has proved an incalculable benefit to the town, by affording a cheap and less laborious conveyance for its manufactures.

There are in Sheffield about six hundred persons who are called master cutlers, who are a corporate body, and are supposed to employ in the town and neighbourhood, about forty thousand people. The trade, it is said, is under excellent regulations; and the manufacture of the various articles of cutlery has progressed to an almost unrivalled degree of excellence.

On my arrival in England I had not intended to do any business in this place; but experience and observation having confirmed an opinion formed in the United States, that many of the articles made in Birmingham for the American market, were rather intended for *sale* than *service*; and having ascertained that most of the same articles were manufactured here with more faithfulness and credit to the artists, I determined to make my selection of edge tools, such as knives of all kinds, razors, scissors, chissels, saws, scythes, &c. Other articles also that are made here, have a decided preference for their excellence and durability; such as files of all sorts, fenders and grates, sickles and plated ware. The latter, especially, is made with more neatness, variety, and with a view to durability, than at any other place in the kingdom, except at the Soho works near Birmingham.

The variety, ingenuity, and beauty of some of the cutlery of this place, are equally subjects of praise and admiration.

I have seen scissors of such highly finished workmanship as to be sold for three guineas a pair; these are intended for the London and Paris markets. I had some others made of so diminutive a size as to weigh only one grain and a half, and to measure in length little more than a quarter of an inch. I saw knives for the pocket which contained thirty-six articles; and one was lately made which had in it sixteen articles, measured ten-sixteenths of an inch in length, and weighed one pennyweight and a half.

Other articles are made here which the American merchant will find it advantageous to purchase; as combs, cast steel tools of almost every kind, as also all the varieties of the metal itself; carpentering, wood-screws, and sheet iron.

With the exception of the town of Birmingham, this place holds the *second* in rank for the diversity of its manufactures; and it is entitled to the *first* for the finer edge tools, and all others in which steel is the principal ingredient.

Every individual who has a taste for mechanics will be gratified with a view of the ingenious machinery which has been devised for the various

beautiful manufactures, with the least trouble and expense, and the greatest dispatch: but if he is a philanthropist, his pleasure will be diminished when he learns the deplorable intellectual state of those who are engaged in the manufactories, and the yet more depraved condition of the moral faculty. Yet, justice to the character of Sheffield as a manufacturing town, obliges me to say there is less licentiousness in it than in most other places where the arts are encouraged. I lamented to see the great number of women, boys, and girls, from the age of six years, who were engaged for twelve hours every day (Sundays excepted) in making screws, razors and handles, grinding instruments, and at a variety of other processes. Unpleasant reflections associated themselves with a knowledge of the industrious habits to which they are trained. The children are deprived of the amusements which are required in youth; their evil propensities are not checked; their education is generally neglected; and they grow up like rank weeds in a luxuriant soil, corrupted themselves, and corrupting others by their examples and precepts. They are moreover paid a very slender pittance for their confinement and labour.

Highly favoured as Great-Britain is, she owes less to the bounty of nature, than to the genius and

enterprise of her people, with the liberal support which they derive from the government, for her great commercial advantages. As a link is to a chain, so her commerce derives its principal support from her unrivalled excellence in arts and manufactures. Whence this superiority has been derived, would form an interesting subject of enquiry.

It has been asserted that England contains a sufficient quantity of arable land for the support of her inhabitants, so far as this depends upon the produce of the soil; but it is well known that a very considerable portion of good soil remains untilled, being reserved for parks and pleasure grounds. These much exceed what I had previously conceived; and when added to the extensive moors and commons in almost every part of the kingdom, make a very large amount of uncultivated soil. For the productions of the earth, with the best improvements in agriculture, it may therefore be said, that England contains an excess of population; and to this may be assigned in part her vast superiority in the arts. The earth does not yield food enough for the inhabitants; not because it is too sterile, but because too much of it is waste, and reserved for the pleasure of the nobles and the wealthy. Whether the general condition of the people is made better or

worse by this unequal division of the soil; or whether national happiness and prosperity would not be more certainly promoted by its more general cultivation and equal distribution, is not an enquiry contemplated in these remarks. Monopolies are never productive of general good; and the vast acquisitions of landed property obtained by the comparatively few, is grievous and oppressive to the many.

The facts I have stated, pernicious as they are in some respects, have laid the foundation for the establishment and wonderful perfection of the infinite variety of arts for which this country is so highly distinguished; and which has been one of the principal sources of its present elevation, wealth and power.

Luxury has followed in the train of wealth, and with its baleful influence on habits, has, however, been productive of some benefit. It offers to the ingenious artizan and mechanic an ample and liberal reward for the product of his labour; and the continual change, or ever-varying forms of fashion, holds out an incessant temptation to new discoveries and improvements.

Admitting that England derives the most important benefits from her manufactures; that they are to her a source of national wealth; and that they minis-

ter very highly to the comforts and conveniences of the people; and admitting also that my country participates indirectly in the advantages which the former derives; that they bring into the kingdom a flood of wealth, and give employment to tens of thousands;—still I do not wish to see such established in the United States. Manufactures, when conducted in the manner to which I have several times alluded, are not favourable for the growth of good morals or useful domestic habits: they are not nurseries of virtue; but as hot-beds of all the vicious propensities, they prepare the young mind for the worst of crimes, and contribute to the utmost profligacy in society.

In my remarks on Manchester, I had occasion to notice the state of the manufacturing people, and observations made subsequent to the time of my leaving that place, have not induced me to change my opinion very materially on the subject. In Leeds as well as in Sheffield, I think their situation less pitiable than in Manchester. There are a less number herded together in extensive buildings; and many of the articles which ultimately find their way to the market towns, are made in families throughout the country, and in the villages. Made in this way, the same injurious effects to health and morals

do not supervene, as generally do where a hundred or more persons are confined in a close room, the air of which is filled with the exhalations from their own lungs, the effluvia from various metallic substances, or particles of wool, cotton and flax, which are floating in it, in an invisible form. To these must be added the use of numerous lamps at night, which not only consume much of the pure air, but they taint the balance. Any one who will for a moment reason on the physical effects which must result from such a combination, will declare, that extensive manufacturing systems are unfavourable to health and longevity. That they are inimical to morals will be conceded by all who have had an opportunity of judging. Let all such unite with me in prayer to exempt our country from such evils.

I have again and again lamented the establishment and increase of such manufactures in the United States, as require the indiscriminate collection of men and women, boys and girls, in the same apartments. I deprecate them, from a conviction that they militate against the best interests of the people; that they are ill suited to our republican form of government; and that, as just remarked, they are opposed to the increase of virtuous habits and to longevity. Blessed as our country is with every diver-

sity of climate, and of soil, abounding with almost all the productions of nature, and capable of yielding an ample and a various supply from cultivation, we should rather follow the plough than encourage the spindle and the shuttle. Better is it to make our citizens agriculturists than manufacturers. I wish to be distinctly understood; and that in expressing opinions that are averse to the increase of manufactures in my own country, I do not mean to apply them to those more strictly called domestic, or which are confined to families; but to the establishment of such as have given to England a far-famed celebrity, and *stamped a character* upon the people who are engaged in them, which my countrymen *should not envy*. I would go a little farther: the importation of certain articles should not be encouraged, the duties and freight of which are equal, or more than equal to the first cost, consequently doubly enhancing the price to the purchaser, and the raw materials of which can be had with facility, and at a cheaper rate, in our own country. Such form a pretty large amount in the annual exportations from Great Britain.

Our country is not ripe for an extension of its manufactures, to supply all the wants of her people; nor has time been given for perfecting them. Diffused, as they are, over a vast extent of territory,

many parts of which are scarcely relieved of their native forests and beasts; the first object to which necessity would urge their attention, would be to reduce the soil to a state fitted for cultivation, and to ensure the means of comfort and support. In many places this has yet scarcely been attained. The cultivation of the sciences, and the encouragement of the arts, would be objects of secondary consideration. Where labour is high, the latter cannot be effected with profit or advantage, except in time of war, or under other circumstances which prevent an intercourse with those countries where the same articles could be had at a cheaper rate. It is certainly a fact, that the disproportion in the value of labour in the United States and England, will not allow the people of the former to bear a competition, even in their own markets, for the manufactured articles of the latter. Almost every one's observation must have convinced him of this; especially as it relates to the finer fabrics in wool, cotton, linen, silk, and steel. So long as the merchant can export the raw material, receiving in return the productions of a foreign country, and afford to sell them for a less price than they can be made for in his own, it is not reasonable to imagine the purchaser will give the preference to the latter. Even patriotism will waver under

such circumstances; and few, perhaps none will give a greater price for an article, of similar quality and worth, because it was fabricated in the country of his birth and habitation.*

The manners and habits of the people of Sheffield are not of that courtly or highly polished kind which a traveller would expect to meet with in the vicinity of palaces, or in the habitations of the higher orders of the people of this country; but there is a plainness combined with frankness, which stamps upon them an intrinsic value. Much unaffected kindness was shown to me during my short stay; and indeed, I witnessed the same hospitality that had been offered to me in my tour through other parts of Yorkshire, on the borders of which I had now arrived.

At the house of an acquaintance, and in a large party, I had the good fortune to meet with Mr. James Montgomery, the well known and respectable author of the *Wanderer of Switzerland*, and many other poems. In conjunction with Mrs. Benger and Mr. Graham, he has lately been engaged in preparing for the press a poem in a splendid form, on the abolition of the Slave Trade. This work has indeed come before the public in a quarto volume,

* See Note VIII. at the end of the volume.

beautifully embellished with emblematic engravings. Mr. Montgomery is at present the proprietor of a newspaper, that was formerly under the direction of Mr. Gales, of Raleigh, North-Carolina. He is esteemed by his fellow-citizens for the excellence and purity of his character. In company he is generally disposed to silence; but when engaged in conversation, he is sprightly and interesting. The following are the concluding remarks in a late biographical sketch of Mr. Montgomery:

“Such are the principal events of the first thirty-five years of the life of James Montgomery, of whom it may be said, nature never infused into a human composition a greater portion of kindness and genuine philanthropy; a heart more sensibly alive to every better as well as every finer feeling, never beat in a human breast: perhaps no two individuals, in manners, pursuits, character, and composition, ever more exactly corresponded with each other, than the subject of this memoir, and the late Mr. Cowper, the Olney poet. The same benevolence of heart, the same modesty of deportment, the same purity of life, the same attachment to literary pursuits, the same fondness for solitude and retirement from the public haunts of men; and, to complete the picture, the same ardent feeling in

the cause of religion, and the same disposition to gloom and melancholy. One who has been honoured with his confidence and esteem,* and who, with very few exceptions, has passed hours with him daily, for the last fourteen years, may surely be permitted to bear testimony to his steady attachment as a friend, and his excellence as an associate. Little known even by his townsmen, he has been erroneously supposed to have a strong predilection in favour of politics, which, though in some measure connected with his business, are but rarely permitted to interfere with his studies, or mingle with his amusements. His person, which is rather below the middle stature, is neatly formed; his features have the general expression of simplicity and benevolence; rendered more interesting by a hue of melancholy that pervades them. When animated by conversation, his eye is uncommonly brilliant, and his whole countenance is full of intelligence: he possesses great command of language; his observations are those of an acute and penetrating mind, and his expressions are frequently strikingly metaphorical and eloquent. By all who see and converse with him, he is esteemed; by all who know him, he is beloved."

Mr. Montgomery was born at Irvine, Ayrshire,

* Mr. Rhodes, the writer of the above, a citizen of Sheffield.

Scotland, November 4, 1771, and was educated at Fulreck, near Leeds, Yorkshire. The first thirty-five years of his life have been marked with many vicissitudes; and he may with great propriety be said to have been the sport of caprice and misfortune. The fickle goddess seems to have frowned on his humble birth, and to have marked him as the victim of her cruelties. Now, in the esteem of his fellow citizens, may he close his days in tranquillity and happiness.

LETTER XIV.

Departure from Sheffield—Chesterfield—Nottingham—Mortimer, Earl of Marche—Derby—Burton upon Trent—Litchfield—Johnson and Garrick,—Darwin and André—Sutton Coldfield.

ON the third of August I left Sheffield, and for the dispatch of business I took my seat in the night coach for Nottingham. It sat out at 10 o'clock, P. M.

It will be perceived that this mode of travelling will deprive one of seeing the country through which he passes, as well as many objects which would command his notice and attention. I was frequently compelled to adopt this mode, as the season for making shipments to the United States had very far advanced. It lessened the sources of my enjoyment, and curtailed those of information.

In two hours I arrived at Chesterfield, but from the extreme darkness of the night could not have a view of the town, which is situated between the

Hyper and the Rother, in the fertile valley of Scarsdale.*

It is an old town, being mentioned by Leland, and at one time "in days of yore," was the resort of the kings of England for the pleasures of the chase. It was incorporated in the reign of queen Elizabeth; before which it was governed by an alderman and twelve brethren, but it is now governed by a mayor, six aldermen, six brethren, and twelve capital burgesses, assisted by a town clerk. The number of inhabitants are about four thousand three hundred. The duke of Portland is the present proprietor of the manor. There is a manufactory of thread here, and several cotton mills have lately been erected: it also participates with Derby and Nottingham in the manufacture of silk, cotton and worsted hosiery.

Large fires in the vicinity of the town illuminated the road as we passed rapidly along, and I was told they were for burning iron ore. Both coal and iron are dug in the neighbourhood.

I had now arrived at Derbyshire. At five o'clock in the morning the coach stopped at the Blackmoor's Head in Nottingham. The entrance was

* I shall say more of this place hereafter.

through a narrow, dirty, and ill-built street, and with the treatment at the inn gave me no favourable opinion of the place. It was a considerable time before any one could be awakened in the house; and at last, when a dirty looking servant opened the door, the passengers were shown into the kitchen. I was not in a humour to put up with such treatment, and as soon as light had dawned, I sought another house.

A comfortable nap of three hours, in a clean bed, very much refreshed me, and put me in a better humour.

I had become convinced, from repeated observation, that the inns at which the coaches stop are seldom very good. It is generally expected that the passengers are such in every sense of the word; and the innkeepers seldom make preparations for, or make any efforts to please those who they expect will stop only for a night or meal, and whom they will probably never see again. This fact I had so well ascertained, that I made it a general rule whenever I intended to remain in any town, one, two, or more days, not to take lodgings where the coach stopped. I sometimes changed for the worse; but generally the superiority of the accommodations very fully compensated for the trouble I incurred.

At the latter also, strangers are less liable to the impositions of innkeepers and servants.

The remark, though trite, is just, that we are apt to form our opinion of things and persons from first impressions; and in this we are very frequently mistaken. Thus it was with the idea which had fixed itself on my mind respecting Nottingham, from the unfavourable aspect of the entrance, and the treatment I received at the inn. I found I had entered it by one of the worst and most filthy streets; and after I had strolled a little through the town, it presented a very different and more inviting aspect.

Some of the streets are wide, handsome, and well paved. The market-place is very spacious, and many of the houses surrounding it have their fronts supported by neat and lofty stone pillars; which afford a comfortable shelter in wet weather, and give them a very handsome appearance.

Nottingham gives name to the county: it is situated principally on the acclivity of a rock, commanding a fine view of the river Trent, and the meadows on its borders. A short distance from the town, on the road to Leicester, is a stone bridge, of nineteen arches; and at this spot the river is pretty large and deep; for soon after passing by Burton, it

ives the Dove, the Derwent, the Irwash and the
our.* It has about 1700 voters and sends two
members to parliament.

The peculiar situation of Nottingham is such as
to afford some very fine views; but nothing is more
remarkable than the rock, on which all the houses
are built. It is of a dark brown colour, and so soft
as to be very easily excavated into vaults and cel-
lars of almost any extent and depth, and yet so
firm as not to endanger the fall of the superstruc-
tures: some of the cellars are two, and others three
stories high, and the descent into some is not less than
eighty steps. I entered into one of them a very con-
siderable depth, where a light was required, and my
guide told me the whole town was thus undermined.
The only inconvenience which attends the digging
of the cellars, originates from this being done after
the houses are built, by which encroachments are
sometimes made on neighbours.

During the seventeenth, and in the early part of
the eighteenth century, this place was remarkable
for its tanneries, but these have been supplanted by

* The Trent is called a "noble river," but compared with
many of our own, it is but a rivulet. It has its origin in the
highlands of Staffordshire, and after passing through this
county and Derbyshire, enters the S.W. extremity of Notting-
hamshire.

the stocking trade, of which it may be called the chief market. The finest articles of the kind are made here, and great quantities are supplied by the people of the neighbourhood, who take the raw materials, and fabricate it at their own houses. Besides hosiery of silk, cotton and wool, stockinets are made in great variety, as also silk and cotton lace. I visited a manufactory of silk lace, the machinery for which was beautifully delicate and complex, and such as I cannot venture to describe.

As soon as I had effected my business, I made an excursion through the town with Mr. Hadden, a gentleman to whom I had letters, and with whose family I had spent part of the day. Here again I had occasion to remark the affability of English females; and to contrast the ease and freedom of conversation of Mrs. and Miss H. with the reserve which is so usual among the females of my own country.

We visited the summit of the hill on which stands the castle, the property of the duke of Newcastle, who has property of great value in the town. From this elevation, the most enchanting prospect was spread before me. The town, the beautiful Trent, gliding between luxuriant meadows, and highly cultivated farms, gave me a more correct idea of English scenery, than I had yet beheld.

It was in this castle that Roger Mortimer, earl of Marche, was surprised and seized by the valiant Edward III. and his associates, who found entrance to the castle by a subterraneous passage.*

There is a neat small park belonging to the castle, and at one extremity of the former are barracks of modern construction, for the accommodation of a regiment of horse.

I wished to devote a day or two to visit the environs of this flourishing place; for as a traveller I am certain I should have found various sources of amusement; but the urgency of business hastened my departure, and I took a seat in the coach for Birmingham.

Fifteen miles from Nottingham, I stopped to breakfast at Derby, which is a thriving and well built town, on the banks of the Derwent, which unites with the Trent at the extremity of the county, and is navigable for barges as far as this town. The number of inhabitants is stated to be 11,000.

Flamstead, the celebrated astronomer, was born

* This nobleman was afterwards executed for his base conduct while he managed the affairs of the kingdom during the minority of the king, in conjunction with his mother, queen Isabella, whose favourite Mortimer was. Edward relieved himself from the influence of both, while yet under age.

here in 1646*; and the very learned Darwin closed his useful speculative life here, while on a visit, a few years since.

A stranger may see much to amuse him in the town; and if he has a relish for the beautiful in nature, he will find in the neighbourhood a number of pleasing walks, from which the eye may be regaled with scenes designated by other features, than such as belong to ponderous and complicated steam and water works.

Derby is a place of very considerable trade, and shares with Nottingham that of hosiery, its chief manufacture. It has very extensive silk works, first established here by John Lombe, about the year 1716. The building which contains the machinery for making the silk, from the first to the finishing process, is one hundred and ten feet long, and fifty-six feet six inches high. It has four hundred and sixty-eight windows, and the machinery has 14,000 wheels, all of which are put in motion by a single water wheel twenty-three feet in diameter. The history of the establishment of this silk mill is curious

* This great astronomical genius was made astronomer royal in 1674; and the year succeeding, the foundation of the royal observatory was laid; at which time he removed to the queen's house at Greenwich, where he remained until he died in 1719.

and interesting; and it is a striking evidence of the power of genius when aided by enterprise, and the combined influence which both may have on the commerce of a nation.

Lombe went to Italy about the year 1715, where he remained long enough to procure drawings and models of machinery, by clandestine and dangerous means. His object being discovered, he sought refuge on board a ship with two Italians, who had assisted him in his plans, and who accompanied him to England. Having fixed on Derby for the erection of his works, he contracted with the corporation for a marshy island in the Derwent, five hundred feet long, and fifty-two wide, for the annual rent of eight pounds. He died about the year 1724.*

Besides the manufacture of silk, there are some of cotton, and one of porcelain, established about the year 1750. Though various improvements have been made in preparing the paste, the ware is still inferior to the French and Saxon in fineness, but it exceeds both in design and ornaments. "The paint-

* It is stated upon good authority, that he fell a victim to revenge, and that he died from treachery and poison. One of his Italian companions shared the same fate; but ere this took place, they had permanently secured the success of their works.

ings are rich and well executed, and the gilding and burnishing exceedingly beautiful."

The fluor spar of Derbyshire is here made into a variety of useful and fantastic forms, for chimney ornaments, candlesticks, grottoes, boxes, vases, urns, &c. &c. by very ingenious machinery.

Among the passengers in the coach from Nottingham, was a gentleman whose deportment and conversation had particularly interested me; we had not seen each other before, and without knowing my name or character, he very obligingly gave me his name and address at parting, with an urgent request that I would see him, if I should make a second visit to Nottingham, the place of his residence.

The next stage brought me to Burton upon Trent, in Staffordshire, a cleanly and tolerably well-built town; but as the coach only stopped to change horses, it was not in my power to make even a hasty survey of the place. It has several public buildings of respectability, among which is the church, a handsome modern structure, with a tower, containing eight musical bells and a good chime.

On the banks of the Trent, near the town, there are still some remains of an abbey founded in 1004, and very near to this spot, stood the old parish church of St. Modwena. Over the river at this

place, there is a fine bridge of thirty-seven arches; it is navigable from Gainsborough for boats of considerable burden. Burton contains about 4,000 inhabitants.

It has some manufactures, but for these it is less noted than for its ale. Curiosity rather than thirst induced me to taste a liquor so famed in England. I found it more pleasant, but much stronger, than any I had drank. To my enquiries into the causes of its excellence, I could not get any satisfactory reply. The person to whom I addressed my queries informed me, that a man who had been famed for the excellence of his malt liquor in Burton, had removed to London, and had there failed in making it of equal quality.

The road thus far, was uncommonly level and smooth, and enriched with the most beautiful cultivated scenery. Travelling at the rate of eight miles an hour, soon brought me to Lichfield, which is a pretty large, handsome, and well-built, but not a very compact place. It is three miles south of the Trent, and it is divided by a small stream, which runs into that river. That part of the city which is on the south side, is called the City, and is much the largest; the other division is called the Close.

I wished to have remained here a day or two to

view its celebrated cathedral, which is among the finest Gothic buildings in England; but I left it with less reluctance, as I intended to make a second visit.

Lichfield has fair pretensions to a high rank in literature; for, besides other men devoted to science, it claims the honour of giving birth to Samuel Johnson and David Garrick, two men of opposite but splendid genius; friends and associates in life, and both honoured with a splendid notice in death.

Several years previous to his death, the learned and ingenious Doctor Erasmus Darwin resided here; and so did his biographer, and the panegyrist of the unfortunate André, the last of whom became a victim to the duplicity, villany, and treachery of the infamous Arnold.

It would have been a gratification, even to have viewed the walls, within which, under the care of Hunter, the towering and gigantic mind of Johnson first received those impressions which afterwards shone forth with such distinguished lustre, rendering him the admiration and boast of his age: and to have trod on those grounds where lately the illustrious Darwin was wont to take his walks, would have brought to my recollection the numerous philosophical truths, and the many beautiful images

with which his Zoonomia, Botanic Garden, and Temple of Nature are enriched.

Seven miles N.N.E. of Birmingham, I passed through the old but small town of Sutton Coldfield, (in Warwickshire,) so named from its being in the neighbourhood of a bleak barren common. The coach stopped for half an hour, and I walked on about a mile, enjoying some fine prospects immediately adjacent to this place.

In an hour afterwards I reached Birmingham, the largest and most populous place in Warwickshire. On a near approach, it appeared of a size equal to the first commercial cities in the United States, and as I entered the environs, or the hamlet of Deritend, it was easy to discover I had got into the head quarters of the arts. The sooty hue of the houses, the volumes of smoke ascending in black clouds, and the noise of hammers proclaimed the nature and extent of its manufactures.

LETTER XV.

Birmingham—Dudley—Observations and Reflections on
National Prejudices.

THE day after my arrival in Birmingham I visited Dudley, in Staffordshire, ten miles distant, situated in a valley amidst the smoke of burning coal-pits; forges, furnaces, slitting-mills, nail-factories, and glass-houses.

The appearance of this place seemed almost as if it had been made the abode of the Cyclops; for the whole country which I could embrace within my view, appeared to be on fire, and the immense columns of thick black smoke, issuing from every quarter, darkened the atmosphere.

This neighbourhood, abounding with all the materials for making iron, viz. coal, iron ore, and limestone, has rendered the works numerous and profitable. Many of the articles for the supply of the Birmingham market are manufactured here; such as nails, (for which Dudley is particularly celebrated,) fenders, shovels and tongs, anvils, vices,

hammers, bellows, and a variety of other heavy goods.

There are some extensive glass works, which are worth the notice of a purchaser or a traveller.

Although I had not provided myself with letters of introduction to any person in this place, I had other means of being made acquainted with Mr. Daniel Parsons, to whom I gratefully express my acknowledgments for his politeness and hospitality.

Dudley, though lying in Worcestershire, is so singularly situated that it is surrounded by Staffordshire. It contains about two thousand families; but it has no pretensions to a rank among gay, genteel, or fashionable places, for it is principally inhabited by hardy mechanics.

It is supposed to derive its name from a Saxon prince named Dodo, or Dudo, who founded a castle about the year 700, the remaining walls of which, on very elevated ground, are the first objects which are presented to the view on entering the town.

Hitherto I had generally seen the walls of castles and abbeys at a distance, as I passed them in the stage coaches; and whenever my eyes caught these venerable monuments of past ages, they produced an association in the mind of events arising from, and connected with a state of society, in which very

few of the softer features of civilization were blended with the ferocious traits which marked the character of the people.

By such objects the mind is irresistibly led back to a period when the haughty power of barons and lords trampled on liberty and justice, and usurped that authority which should have been delegated to the people: when the primary object of civil compacts was disregarded, and every society was distracted by incessant broils, from intestine divisions, and the predatory incursions of vicious and warlike neighbours: it is forced to contemplate the lamentable condition of the multitude, subject to the imperious mandates of a few, who, by greater cunning, baser arts, or fortuitous circumstances, had assumed a power, which was exercised with tyranny, and which nothing but a superior force could check or conquer.

Such was the rapacious, restless, and warlike state of the people, in these miserable times; and every individual who had assumed a power not delegated to him by his birth, or merited by his virtues, erected a castle for his security and protection, surrounded by ditches and drawbridges, and amply provided with all the means of defence.

With such impressions I made an early visit to

Dudley castle; and with lively interest and peculiar emotions, I viewed the massive walls of this extensive building.

The form and extent of many of the rooms are still to be traced, amidst the accumulated rubbish of ages. Part of this building was inhabited about sixty years since; but now the voice of no human being cheers the dreary spot. The ground within the exterior walls, and that adjacent to them, is cultivated in grass. At the base of the hill on which are the ruins of the castle, are the walls and entrance of a priory, founded about the year 1161 by Gervase Pagnel; and it was supposed to have a subterranean communication with the former. What remains of the priory is converted into dwellings and manufacturing houses. Unless dissimilar to other convents or priories, this too, was, perhaps, often profaned by scenes of tyranny, lust and licentiousness. The impenetrable obscurity which hangs over the events of eight centuries, precludes a knowledge of those traits which marked the characters of the men who secluded themselves from the rest of the world: but I do not hesitate to say that their outward austerity, their indolence, and their acts of piety, (disgraced as it was by hypocrisy and wild unruly mirth,) were less honourable to the Deity to whom they had so

solemnly pledged their lives, than to the general conduct which distinguishes the tenants of later years; who, with more industry, charity, and regard to the welfare of society, possess perhaps equal zeal, faith and righteousness.

At the table of Mr. Parsons, I became acquainted with Mr. Hunt, one of the proprietors of Brade's celebrated steel works, situated between Dudley and Birmingham, who gave me an invitation to spend a few days at his house.

I shall here offer some remarks and general reflections which I have postponed until farther and repeated observation has sanctioned their correctness.

Like most foreigners, I arrived in England with a portion of the prejudices too common with my countrymen; but as my means of information have been more extended, as opportunities have been presented for remarks, I became convinced that they were ill-founded, and unworthy of the people whom they concerned. While, therefore, I discarded them from my breast, their place was filled by opposite sentiments. I could almost say, if I had not the most endearing attachments in the United States, and the strong ties of interest most forcibly bound me to them, I could be almost induced to

take up my abode in the land of my forefathers. This must not be called undue partiality, hastily created, without due reflection, and formed on trivial grounds. I believe I do not deceive myself on this point, and the seeming extravagance of my attachment is warranted by the strong language of facts.

On the mind of a stranger few things make a stronger impression than that courtesy of life which is called politeness in one class of society, and civility in another. By the former I do not mean that semblance of regard which is expressed by and dies upon the lips, but I mean that show of kindness which proves its sincerity by something more than empty forms, or unmeaning sounds; which proves, I say, by acts, that there is a disposition to perform good deeds, as well as a tongue to speak of them. Hospitality has been most liberally extended to me, and I am forced to declare that since I have been in the kingdom, I have seen much more of it than I have in a section of that country where I drew my earliest breath, was educated, and reared; or among a people whom I know much better. Civility has been shown to me by all classes, and in all places where accident or business has brought me, evinc-

ing the general character of the people, and that it is their disposition to be kind and obliging.

In this country, as in all others, a stranger must have an introduction in some form or other, ere he can expect the rights of hospitality; but having this in a respectable manner, he has at once tendered to him those kindnesses which are always gratifying. When introduced to a family, if he does not feel at ease it must be his own fault.

With the native and frank kindness of English families, there is but a corresponding share of that ceremony which is a restraint upon actions; and with those to which I have been introduced, I have observed so little of it, that it appeared to me to be unknown; instead thereof, those forms *only* were adhered to which domestic arrangements absolutely required, or mere politeness dictated.

In the higher circles of society, where the tyranny of fashion exercises more influence, and where custom has established certain rules, there is consequently less freedom of action. Perhaps the form of government and the distinctions which it has created, has rendered their observance indispensable. Innovations upon established usages ought to be made with caution and respect.

It is not unusual in the United States to speak of

the peasantry of England in a contemptuous stile; and they are commonly believed to be a poor, pusillanimous, debased and wretched people. Confining my allusion to the cultivators of the soil, (and I have not seen England in its best colours) I must, from the observations I have made, say this picture is not a correct one. I have made as careful and minute an examination as my hasty passage from place to place would admit; and I assert it, with a confidence of its correctness, that in no country are the peasantry better dressed, and judging from the state of their houses, farm-yards and grounds, more comfortable.

The observation that is sometimes made, that, as a manufacturing people, they have means of being decently clad at a small expense, is not a liberal one: it may be said, that I have been deceived by exterior appearances; and these are not an index of the tranquillity of the mind. In a general sense, I admit the force and justness of this argument. Those of whom I speak appeared to be an industrious people, and their knowledge of the mechanic arts, moreover, furnished them with the means of providing what they could not directly draw from their soil. I here allude particularly to the peasantry of Yorkshire.

They are generally robust and well-formed, and they seem to be happy and contented, for they are good humoured and cheerful. Without the boorishness of the German, the Polish, or the Russian peasant, or the uncouth and vulgar way of a similar class of men, in certain sections of my own country, they possess the plain, simple and decent address and behaviour of persons who think what they speak, and would act as their reason, common sense, and judgment would prompt and direct them.

We asperse the character of Englishmen, when we assert they do not possess the *amor patriæ*; or that they are not attached to the laws and institutions of their government. In this respect Americans have been deceived, as they have been in other matters relative to Great Britain. With all the imperfections of their laws, and the great inequalities which exist in society, placing one class of the community at an almost immeasurable distance from another, no people seem to possess stronger attachments to the country of their birth than Englishmen; and they certainly have strong inducements for this attachment. Nature and art have combined their greatest and most varied powers to give to England peculiar attractions; the former, in the most beautiful diversity of cultivated and uncultivated

scenery; the latter, in the boundless variety of artificial productions, which at once evince the taste, the genius and the industry of the people. Yet there are in this country, as in ours, some discontented and restless beings, whom a paradise would not satisfy. There are men, I say, who having nothing to lose, and every thing to hope for, would exult in the tumult of a revolution; that, in the derangement of all moral and political affairs, they might, like the froth in a troubled sea, have a chance to emerge from obscurity. Such men, like some evils in the moral world, are perhaps sometimes necessary in the political. They are often the indirect means of producing much good: sometimes they effect reformations of the most salutary nature; but like some violent remedies in the physical constitution, they endanger the safety of the body politic. In their efforts to sever and to weaken, they generally serve to unite and to strengthen.

The political differences, which for several years past have threatened to involve this country and my own in the horrors of war, have since my arrival, been often a source of unpleasant reflections.

I have regretted the want of an amicable understanding between two governments, otherwise connected by the most intimate ties; and I have ex-

pected, in my intercourse with various characters, to have heard the subject introduced and discussed with asperity. As concerns my native country, I had prepared myself to hear its political relations and institutions censured and reviled; but in all this I have been most pleasantly disappointed. From the opportunities I have had of forming an estimate of the sentiments of Englishmen, *as individuals not holding offices under, or directly connected with the government*, it would appear to me that they were desirous of an amicable settlement of all national differences. Those with whom I have conversed on the subject, spoke with that calmness which proves they were governed by reason; and not swayed by passion. They lamented that the points of controversy should remain so long unsettled; and while they viewed with a justifiable partiality the measures of their own government, I was not a witness to any illiberal condemnation of ours. Unlike too, I am sorry to say, too many of my countrymen who have lavished vile and indiscriminate abuse on the English *as a nation*, I have not heard the latter express themselves but in terms of decency and respect of the American people.

If it be said that their characteristic politeness would not permit them to act otherwise in the

company of an American, then they certainly merit commendation for this excellent quality of the heart; and I most ardently wish, that many of my countrymen would imitate this conduct, and thus evince a greater regard for the feelings of foreigners.

It is no less usual than it is honourable, to have a partiality for the country in which we have been born and educated, and from which we derive support and protection; but with this bias, with a predilection for every thing which we proudly call our own, we are too prone to indulge an undue hatred to other nations, and to every thing which is attached to them. This is too generally the offspring of prejudice. The former is most highly commendable; and whilst the *amor patriæ* is a necessary ingredient in the formation of a patriot, the latter is equally illiberal and discordant to those principles which should compel us to form our opinion of other nations with great caution and respect.

That national prejudices and national hatred should exist between neighbouring powers, influenced by opposite interests, differing in the form of government, and in the sentiments, habits, and manners of the people, should not in the least excite our wonder; and where successive wars have tended to inflame their minds, producing rivalry and

increasing jealousies, it is still less to be wondered that national antipathies should be the consequence. Their removal is a thing rather to be desired than expected.

The circumstances which have so long maintained the most envenomed hatred between France and England, do not exist in the same number and force to excite and support a rival jealousy between the latter and the United States.

The causes which gradually led to the Anglo-American war, the termination of which made our country independent, and deprived England of her most valuable colonies, are remembered and deservedly cherished by Americans. A sentiment like this is commendable, and it will oblige them to view their political state before the declaration of independence, and compare it with what it has been since their acquirement of freedom. It will teach them to make a just but liberal scrutiny of the measures of government; to view with detestation and oppose with firmness, all lawless, unjust, or arbitrary means, by which it would aim to enslave the mind, or rivet chains upon a free people; and it will compel them to fix a true and proper value upon their highly favoured political situation. With a just regard for their own rights, and an honourable pa-

triotic spirit, I wish my countrymen would at the same time recollect by what ties and by what sympathies they are united to Great Britain; and then divest their minds of unmanly and ungenerous prejudices. Let them love their own country as the source of their best enjoyments, as becomes the duty of good citizens; and as descendants of one common stock, children of the same parents, let them regard the *people of England* with the affection of consanguinity, and as united to themselves by a similarity of language, habits, dress, and religion. With a fair regard to truth, it cannot be denied, that a great portion of our literary stock is derived from them, and our commercial interests and prosperity most essentially depend upon the maintenance of a reciprocal and amicable intercourse with the government and the people of Great Britain; and will it not be admitted, that with the literature and commerce of that country many of our comforts, conveniencies and pleasures are very closely allied?

Too many of my countrymen have formed their opinions of the prevalent sentiments of Englishmen, relative to the United States, from erroneous data; and judging partially, they have deceived themselves as to their character, taking them in the aggregate.

In this way, the prejudices, originally resulting from political causes, are increased and strengthened.

I feel as little reluctance in declaring that my mind was not untinctured or uninfluenced by them on my arrival in this kingdom, as I do a pride in confessing, that they have been eradicated, as I have had the means of forming correct opinions presented to me.

LETTER XVI.

Departure from Birmingham—Wolverhampton—Wendnesbury—Shiffnall—Bilston—Appearance of the Country—Mode of making *Coak*, and its properties—State of the Inhabitants—Arrival at Shrewsbury—Description of it—Mr. John Howard, the philanthropist—Mr. Scott—Visit to Dudley, and Brade's Steel Works—Mode of making Patent Hoes—Shenstone—Public Buildings of Birmingham—Yard of St. Philip's Church, and Reflections—General Character of the Manufacturers, and Observations on the state of the Arts—Remarks on the effects of Cotton Manufactures in Scotland.

THE advanced state of the season induced me to hasten my departure from Birmingham for Shrewsbury, on the border of Wales, and the great market for Welsh flannels and plains; both being articles of very considerable demand in South Carolina and Georgia. On the 7th of August I took a seat in the coach. My companions were a gentleman and his wife, and a medical man, who, I learned in the course of the day, resided at Wellington under the Wrekin, so called from being near a mountain of that name, whose base is almost washed by the Severn, and whose summit is 1100 feet above the surface of that river.

Our road lay through Wolverhampton, Wednesbury, Shiffnall, Bilston, and other small towns and villages: indeed, such was the thickly settled state of the country, as to give it the appearance of a continued village. It is not in my power to be minute in a description of the towns and country through which I passed; nor did it appear to me there was much in them to interest the traveller.

In Wednesbury there is a Gothic building which has been built nearly eleven hundred years. The castle of Dudley is within view of it.

Wednesbury, or, as it is sometimes called, Weds-bury, or Wedgbury, is said to have been fortified against the irruption of the Danes, by Edward the elder, son of Alfred the Great. The manufacture of guns, coach-springs, harness, saws, trowels, edge tools, bridle-bits, stirrups, and many other wrought and cast iron goods, is carried on here to a considerable extent.

Bilston is one of the largest villages in England, being more than a mile and a quarter in length, and containing nearly one thousand houses. From being situated on the main road from London to Holyhead, and several considerable canals passing through or near it, it has been rendered a place of some importance. Its principal manufacture is in japped

and enamelled goods. There are in the village also, furnaces for smelting iron, slitting mills, &c.

That part of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, through which I passed this day, contains inexhaustible mines of coal, and other materials for making iron. These, with the number and variety of the manufactures, have given to this part of England a very crowded population, and afforded to the industrious very ample opportunities for obtaining a decent support.

The road passes over immense coal mines; and in every direction I saw clouds of thick black smoke which darkened the atmosphere, with occasional flashes of vivid flame from steam engines, and from the burning of coal to make coak.*

I envy not the wealthy proprietors of these coal

* This is sometimes called coke, which means pit-coal or sea-coal, charred. Char signifies to burn wood to a black cinder. This operation is similar to that which wood undergoes in the formation of charcoal. The process in the formation of coak, deprives the coal of its volatile parts, nothing remaining except the carbon and earthy impurities. In this state it is used for smelting iron ore, and for other purposes where intense heat is required. From late improvements made in the stoves for the formation of coak, it has been found to be preferable to coal for the common purpose of warming rooms; and lately a mode has been discovered for making and saving inflammable gas by the same process which forms the coak,

pits and manufactures, whose habitations are within their influence; but I pity those whose occupation and employments oblige them to reside in the neighbourhood of the artificial volcanoes; for every object is blackened by their smoke, and a gloomy aspect is diffused over surrounding nature: and how much more ought we to pity the condition of hundreds and of thousands, whom the griping hand of poverty has doomed to labour in almost fathomless pits, excluded from the light of day! How greatly should we lament that state of society and things which requires the labour of so many of our fellow-creatures in such cheerless abodes, deprived of every comfort! It is a subject which may excite our regret but not our wonder, that such men, from the nature of their employments, from earliest youth to advanced age, and from the state of their society and habits, have less of the polish of human nature, or the *suaviter in modo*, than their neighbouring fellow-men, who dwell in a comparative elysium, surrounded by, and possessed of every comfort. And yet I do not say that these men are less civil, although they are less enlightened and less polished than many of their affluent neighbours. It will not be imagined that the parts of Warwickshire and Staffordshire of which I have been speaking, present

many interesting natural objects. The embellishments of taste in agriculture form no part of the scenery, and nature is seen only in her wildest or rudest attire. Nor are any of the towns possessed of objects to attract and detain the traveller, unless he has a desire to dive into coal-pits, or enter the filthy shops of the manufacturers. Most of them are old, ill-built, and black from the smoke of surrounding fires. They are the abode of manufacturers of locks, japanned wares, and an infinite variety of articles in steel and iron.

Wolverhampton and its neighbourhood is particularly noted for the excellence of its locks, and the variety and ingenuity of their workmanship. I procured, among others, a set consisting of six, to each of which there is a distinct key; but to which there is one called a master key, which unlocks the whole. I found considerable difficulty in procuring such as I wanted without considerable delay, because almost every different article, and almost each kind of lock, is fabricated by different artists. Purchasers therefore, to avoid much trouble and delay, will be under the necessity of employing an agent or factor, who, besides his commission, will generally charge an advance on the articles purchased.

The medical gentleman who was my stage com-

panion from Birmingham, I found to be agreeable and intelligent. He was social and unreserved, and among the various topics which engrossed our conversation and our time, he informed me he had been on a visit to Tutbury in Staffordshire, to see Ann Moore, who had for some time attracted public notice from the reports of her singular abstinence. He related the case to me in general terms, and as it seemed to be worthy of a more minute enquiry, I determined to visit her before I left England.* He gave me his address at parting.†

The lady who was a passenger with me, discovering I was a stranger in England, gave me some account of Shrewsbury, (through which place she was travelling,) and offered to be my guide to certain parts which I had previously informed myself were most worthy of notice. We arrived about sunset, and Mrs. Hardman (for that was her name) renewed her promise, and taking my arm, we strolled through street after street, in search of the Quarry, a beautiful promenade. Her long absence from town had made her almost a stranger to it, and we were ultimately obliged to make repeated enqui-

* The subject of this very extraordinary case will be hereafter noticed, more particularly.

† Doctor Dickinson of Wellington.

rics ere we reached the place of our destination. We sauntered under the shade of most majestic lime trees, which have a solemnity and grandeur I have seldom seen equalled, until the sombre shades of night warned us to depart. Taking a different course on our return, night overtook us before we reached the inn.

The situation of Shrewsbury, on the river Severn, is one of the most beautiful I have seen in England. The circuitous course of this pretty stream is such as almost to surround the town, and the hills which rise from its banks afford many delightful seats and extensive prospects. Over the river are several handsome stone bridges, and on the bank of it is the walk just mentioned, called the Quarry. I could not get any correct information on the origin of this term; but it is generally supposed that at some former period, which has been forgotten in the lapse of time, stone was procured there.

The town is populous, but badly built, with the exception of a few modern buildings which evince both opulence and taste. Most of the streets are narrow, crooked, and irregular; and many of the houses are dropping into ruin from age, that sure and universal destroyer of all terrestrial things.

Although there is not much to admire or to please, in the private dwellings, yet there is in the public buildings which adorn the place, and which reflect much credit on the inhabitants.

No town in the kingdom of equal size can boast of so many, or more magnificent public edifices than Shrewsbury. Among these are the free schools endowed by Edward VI. and Elizabeth; Millington's Hospital for decayed house-keepers; and several charity schools, which owe their foundation to the liberality of individuals. The exterior of the new church of St. Chad, which is of modern architecture, is ill-suited to the gravity of a Christian place of worship. I did not see the interior; "but it is," says a recent traveller, "a complete picture of deformity;" adding, "its long slender pillars round the galleries remind me of a range of wax candles." Of places of worship there are a variety, affording to every sect and denomination of Christians an opportunity to worship the Deity according to their peculiar modes of faith. St. Mary's and St. Chad's alms-houses are worthy the inspection of a traveller.

In front of the new gaol, I observed a bust erected to the honour of Mr. John Howard, on whose plan it was built. Prisoners! how much ought you to revere the memory of your benefactor! How

greatly should you respect the name of a character who laboured so long, so assiduously, and so disinterestedly for the amelioration of your sufferings! The name of Howard is associated with actions which will give more lasting honours to it than the marble monument which a generous and a grateful nation have erected for him in St. Paul's cathedral, or all the praises bestowed on it by eloquence and genius. His character is a compound of almost every trait which ennobles man, and allies his name to the purity of angels. Long, long, thou distinguished philanthropist, will Englishmen cherish your name! The world shall bless thee; and while benevolence is a virtue, and this is estimable, thou shalt be esteemed, honoured, and beloved.*

There are a few remains of ancient structures in this town. The castle, now in the occupancy of Lord Darlington, is in good preservation; and part of the walls erected against the incursions of the Welsh, with a tower and a gateway, are still remaining. Near to the Abbey Church is an octagonal stone building, called St. Winifred's Pulpit, supposed to be the remains of an ancient oratory. Overgrown with ivy, it has the appearance of solemnity

* See Note IX. at the end of the volume.

and antiquity; and *as an antique*, it is very carefully preserved.

Shrewsbury is the principal mart for the flannels that are made in Wales, and for what are here called Welsh webs, but more generally known in the United States by the name of Welsh plains.

The object of my visit to this place was to purchase these articles; but from the advance in the prices since the last importations, I did so in a very limited degree.

I had letters of introduction to Mr. Richard Scott, who is extensively engaged in the woollen trade; and whose urgent solicitations to remain with him during my stay, rendered it more agreeable.

At his very elegant mansion I received those attentions which declare the hospitable character of an Englishman, and designate the gentleman. He accompanied me on the day after my arrival to the public buildings which were most worthy of notice: his unceremonious politeness and friendly attentions were such as to leave a lasting and a grateful impression on my mind. My business being finished in Shrewsbury, I returned by the same route I came, to Birmingham.

In my former visit to Dudley, I had promised Mr. Daniel Parsons to spend a day or two with

him at his own house. After remaining one day in Birmingham, I took a seat in the coach, and in two hours I found myself in Dudley.

- Under the roof of Mr. Parsons I felt unembarrassed and at ease, because I was convinced his kindness was disinterested, and his hospitality was liberal and unaffected. He is largely concerned in the manufacture of nails and other iron goods.

From hence I went to Mr. Hunt's at Brade's steel works, from an invitation which I had before received. In the family of this agreeable man I remained several days, and was treated with the most unaffected kindness. An amiable, free, and unreserved deportment, made me forget I was in the house of a stranger, and increased my attachment to the stable excellence of the English character.

I derived much gratification from viewing the extensive works which now belong to the family of Mr. Hunt. They are propelled by two vast steam engines. Patent hoes, scythes, straw-knives trowels, with a variety of other cast steel tools, steel, and sheet iron, are made here. The mode of forming the rivets for the patent hoes is not less singular than it is laborious. The blades being first made, are put up in distinct parcels according to their number of one, two, three, and four; the eyes also being

previously made, are to be subjected to a different operation to make the rivets. These are forced out of the iron which is placed red hot on an anvil. In a heavy piece of iron, faced with steel, holes are made, corresponding in diameter and length with the rivets to be made; and this being raised by three men to the height of ten or twelve feet, is brought down with their united force upon the red hot eye; and thus by two, but more commonly three repeated strokes, are the rivets actually forced out of the solid iron. They are made with so much exactness that each eye will suit any blade. The men whom I saw engaged at this work told me it was the most laborious at which they had ever been employed.

During the short time I remained with Mr. Hunt I visited a manufactory of tea-kettles, stew and sauce-pans, with a variety of other hollow and cast iron ware, at West Bromwich, and from Mr. Kendrick, the proprietor, I purchased such as I wanted.

I recur with peculiar satisfaction to a recollection of the time I passed with Mr. Hunt's family. Politeness, the most agreeable manners, with a freedom from ceremonious forms, spread a charm over their society, from which with reluctance I tore myself to return to Birmingham. Mrs. Hunt

favoured me with a seat in her carriage, while Mr. Hunt accompanied us on horseback.

But what a transition! To be so suddenly transported from a delightful villa, where every breath of air wafted the sweetest fragrance, to the confined apartments of an hotel, amidst strangers, smoke, and noise, afforded a contrast more striking than it was pleasing. Here, however, it was necessary to be fixed for some time; for Birmingham is one of the "strong holds" of a trade in which Americans are very materially interested. Next to Manchester, it is the most important in the scale of manufactures.

The approach to this populous place on every side except from Hales Owen,* is by a considerable ascent. Hence it is built on elevated ground, and from the inclined position of the streets, filthy matter is the more easily removed by rain.

The stranger, upon entering it from any quarter,

* The birth-place of William Shenstone, a man who was no less distinguished for his genius, than esteemed for his virtues. His former residence, the Leasowes, from the highly cultivated taste he evinced in laying it out, has for many years attracted thousands to visit it, and to traverse the walks and the grottos, rendered sacred by being the work of Shenstone's hands. I was kindly invited by Mr. Hunt to join a party who were going to visit those delightful grounds, and to extend the ride to Hagley, once the residence of Lord Lyttleton. The latter is four miles from the Leasowes.

will discover it to be a large and a thriving place; and when we reflect on the employments of most of the inhabitants, we are surprised to find it altogether neat, cleanly, and healthy. This remark, however, applies with most force to the higher, or what is commonly called the upper part of the town, which is well built; while the reverse is the case with the lower, the general abode of the manufacturers, and where their workshops and dwellings have a dark and gloomy appearance. The environs are handsome and well improved; and it has a more modern appearance than any other large town I have seen in England.

The object which brought me hither, and the time which I allotted for my stay, will not permit me to describe, with any minuteness, the public buildings of this flourishing place. It is not deficient in those dedicated to religion, charity, or amusement. The general hospital and the free school, in New-street, are especially deserving of attention. St. Philip's church crowns the hill which you ascend from Bull-street; and it has a conspicuous and elegant appearance. It is nearly in the centre of a church yard which contains four acres, and is said to be one of the handsomest and most attractive in the kingdom. But this spacious depository of the

dead seldom excites in the minds of the crowd who are incessantly passing through it any of those reverential feelings which should, in such places, supplant all worldly thoughts. It is not exempt from irreverent practices, and it forms one of the fashionable walks of the place.

I have before had occasion to notice the seemingly indecorous and irreligious appearance which many of the church yards presented to me; for I had frequently found them to be as public as the highways; footpaths cross them in all directions; and I recollect to have seen one in Sheffield entirely open, and exposed to the rude steps of every human and brute being.

The church yard of St. Philip is a thoroughfare. Turn-stiles are placed at various places, and it is enclosed with a low wall, surmounted by an iron railing. During the day a crowd is incessantly passing through it; at night it is made the scene of libertinism, and is profaned by the drunken practices of the "sons of Belial." Mr. Silliman takes a similar notice of this fact, and says that he saw in the ancient church yard of St. James, booths erected, and other preparations made for a fair. "In some of the booths," he says, "the tombs were made to serve as seats; and we were shocked with

the gross indecorum of making the sanctuary of the dead a mart for fraud and a scene of vice."

The remarks I have made relative to the burial-ground of St. Philip's church, are applicable to many others; but custom makes people blind and deaf to the occurrences which pass before them every day and every night;—and such, indeed, is its force, that it is questionable, whether the inhabitants who occupy the elegant semicircular range of buildings contiguous to the grave-yard, ever notice what is transacted before their eyes, or hear the loud revelries of the noisy throng who make this hallowed spot the scene for their mirth and impiety. From the workshops, the manufactories, and the schools, the boys and girls throng to sport amidst the tombs; forgetful or unmindful that their rude steps are pressing the sod over a parent, a sister, or a brother. "On Sunday evenings," says a feeling writer on this subject, "these indecorums are still more reprehensible. It is then that the prescribed duties of public worship, in the former parts of the day, are inverted. The ignorance and idleness—for the offenders are, in general, too young and too illiterate to commit a wilful crime—of the whole town, seem then to be emptied into the church yard. It is then the boys and girls, from five to twelve years of age and

upwards, meet together, without parent, pastor, or guide, and are turned over to their own devices. They dance in rings upon some of the flat tombstones; the smaller ones play at hide and seek, among the graves;—they fling handfuls of the new mould at each other, and shout in triumph, or cry in defeat. The larger boys hunt one another; one acts as the hare, the rest as the hounds. They absolutely run one another down in this mock chase, and do not give up the pursuit, till their legs, hands, and voices, are no longer able to sustain their wanton diversions. The little violators jump for wagers over the dead, to see how many more graves one trespasser can leap than another; and still worse, soldiers are mustered, and roll called in this devoted place.” Thus, a spot, of all others the best fitted for meditation, and where a contemplative person would love to resort, as to a holy place, to wean his thoughts from the world, and hold communion with the spirits of the departed, is converted to a scene for wanton and wicked practices.

I am not disposed to believe the repose of the dead will be disturbed by the revelries, tumults, or unhallowed steps of the living over their mouldering remains; but there is a respect due to them, sanctioned by time immemorial, which should not be

despised, or slightly treated. A too familiar intercourse with the tombs of the departed, or "sporting with the dust and bones of our forefathers," removes or prevents the impression of awe and respect, which such places are so well fitted to inspire. There is in death a something which demands our respect, and great caution should be observed in acting with irreverence towards those who were once living and animated like ourselves. Our sensibilities, which are the surest passports to the soul, are blunted and rendered callous if we are accustomed to view scenes of death, or any circumstance connected with it, as frequently as other objects; and every wanton or licentious encroachment upon a grave-yard, is equally offensive against decency and affection.

Whence the cold, careless, and seemingly unfeeling conduct of soldiers in the field of battle, but from a familiarity with scenes of slaughter, where grim death stalks on every side? A want of decent respect and reverence towards the lifeless bodies of our fellow creatures, may be considered as irreligious; and whatever has a tendency to promote impiety, or lessen the respect to the holy and devout worship of that Being who framed our bodies, should be contemned and avoided.

The number of inhabitants in Birmingham is

stated to be about ninety thousand, and to be annually increasing. This circumstance, in aid of others, may be offered as an argument to prove the flourishing state of the trade of England; and that it has been increasing, notwithstanding its occasional interruption with the United States, and the numerous obstacles which have been created to the introduction of British manufactures on the continent of Europe by the man who rules its destinies, and sways the sceptre of France.

It is almost solely as a manufacturing town that Birmingham is entitled to the particular notice of the traveller of curiosity or of business; and in such a view, no place in the world has equal claims to it. Here every article in gold, silver, iron, brass, copper, and steel, and the various combination of the metals, is made in all the variety of useful or fantastic forms, to please the taste or gratify the imagination. Every thing is manufactured, from the ponderous and unwieldy productions of the casting furnace, to the most delicate toys in gold and silver. Endless are the varieties which the toy-shops of the manufacturers present; and beautiful beyond conception, are many of their wares. Ingenuity is in constant action, and the minds of the artists are incessantly tortured to devise new patterns and new

forms as well as new articles, to add to the almost infinite variety which already exists. The "grand toy-shop of Europe," was then very emphatically and appropriately applied to this town by the celebrated Edmund Burke; and whether we view the number, the magnitude, or the diversity of arts which are here exercised, no town in the world so justly deserves the name. I viewed most of them with a double interest, and seldom did I return from a warehouse or a work-shop, without being gratified. But seldom do those who admire the more useful and splendid productions, or the gaudy trifles, reflect, not how much of labour is bestowed on them, but how much of depravity is intermingled with their fabrication. Other and more pleasing thoughts occupy their minds, and they willingly banish all reflections which would lead them into a view of the moral and political evils, connected with extensive manufactories.

"They observe," says a late writer, "every eye intent, and every hand busy on its appropriate object: they see the most exact order, and a simplicity of arrangement in the most complex employments; and they view the wonderful processes of a pin, a button, a skein of thread, or of silk, from its dark and rude state of the raw material to its ultimate

polish and perfection: they look, with almost a religious wonder, at the progression of these different pieces of workmanship, softening and refining, as they are passed from one set of artificers to another, till they behold shape, symmetry, order, beauty, and use: the magic increases, and the charm strengthens at every step, till, in the end, a new and fair creation stands displayed before their eyes. Having gained their point, they retire well gratified; and the impression left on their minds is very seldom diminished by any of those less pleasing researches, which lie remote from these show-shops or warehouses."

"It is reserved for other examiners to follow the artisan, from the spindle, the wheel, and the shuttle; from the anvil, the hammer, and the forge; from the compass and the rule; the varnish and the painting pot, to his places of retirement and vacation, to his house, his lodging, his public meetings, and his private haunts. It is the business of a philosophical observer to leave the scene of art with the artisan, and with silent but with serious steps, whatever be the age, or the sex, to pursue the artisan to his last retreats, so far as they can be penetrated or explored; thence to look at him as a citizen, a neighbour, a friend, a servant, or a wife, a husband, child, parent, and human being. The accessible manufac-

tory is but a public exhibition of its local inhabitants, where laws and duties are obeyed or enforced. But to obtain an estimate of conduct, character, happiness, or misery, of those inhabitants, must be exhibited at their several homes, or in their deserts from home."

"And, alas!" continues my author, "it is then that the talisman is so often dissolved, the spell broken, and the well-ordered artificial creation, which discipline, policy, and necessity, have raised around a character, are thrown again into anarchy. Then, too, it is, not only in the workshop of the artisan, and toy-shop of the tradesman, but in the parlour and the drawing-room of the more splendid children of fortune, that the fair and polished fabrics of art and imagination fall down, and leave nothing but a wreck behind."

Some of the plainest and most common articles which are every moment presented to us, are formed by machinery as beautiful as ingenious, and but for the latter, it would be impracticable to make them so cheap as they are offered. Such, for instance, as buttons at thirteen pence per groce,* and whips for seven shillings a dozen. Many other things are made

* A respectable author asserts it as a fact, that buttons have been really gilt with gold for three pence halfpenny a groce.

in equal proportions. I saw a man sharpen four hundred pins in a minute; and the author of the Magnificent Birmingham Directory, says he saw a boy twelve years of age, spin seven thousand two hundred pin heads in a minute. This was done in Mr. Phipson's manufactory, which I had the pleasure of seeing in company with a brother of the proprietor.

There are very few individuals who are not conversant with Birmingham wares; for they are seen in almost every article of our houses, from the kitchen to the bed-chamber. The rude domestic utensil for the most common purposes; the splendid ornaments for the decoration of the person, or the drawing-room; and every variety of weapons for the destruction of the human race, are here brought forth from the shapeless mass, by the force of labour and the exertion of genius. No place, I must repeat, can vie with this in the variety, splendour, beauty, convenience, and cheapness of its productions: but, alas! what are the circumstances, physical, moral, and political, connected with all this parade and show of the arts?

The following lines may be here inserted with propriety:—

“ Can tasteless grandeur, with fastidious smile,
Deride the labours of the forge or file?

See, from the sooty toils, what wonders rise!
Behold yon radiant family of toys;
The elastic buckle casts a silver ray,
And the gilt button emulates the day.
Here sparkling chains, in bright confusion lie,
Chains, not to fetter limbs, but grace the thigh:
Beauty of every form, and every hue,
Puzzles the fancy, and distracts the view.
Well might the mythologic wit agree,
That beauty's wedded with deformity:
Here the rude mass emits progressive charms,
Till *Venus* clasps her *Vulcan* to her arms."

It is impossible for one who is not an artist to give a description, even in general terms, of the state of the arts, and the equally various and wonderful contrivances for the abridgment of labour. They excite our wonder, and give us a favourable impression of the ingenuity of the people; while, at the same time, they are no inconsiderable proof of the encouragement that is given to the artists by a liberal people.

If many articles are made cheap, by means of the division and low price of labour and the powers of machinery; we are, on the contrary, occasionally astonished at the prices which are asked and obtained for others, that are, to ordinary observers, of little value. Thus I saw the hilt of a sword, made entirely of steel, the price of which was five hun-

dred guineas. The workmanship, to be sure, was extremely beautiful. How vast is the distance between the maker of such an article, and the purchaser or wearer of it! How great the difference between the unshapen mass as it comes from the forge, and ultimate state of it as it is turned off from the maker's hand! The artist will view the machinery and watch the progress of the diversified labour with interest and delight; but the philanthropist, in the view he will take of both, will associate in his mind other ideas than those merely connected with mechanics. He will admire the ingenuity of the workmen, but he will pity their condition. His fancy may be pleased, and his taste gratified; but his mind will revolt at the means which are made subservient to his pleasures; and he will turn with disgust from the abased situation to which a large portion of the workmen are reduced. Is this the necessary or inevitable consequence of their ingenuity, and their successful application of it to the arts? Does their immoral condition, their general ignorance, and the little happiness and comfort they seem to enjoy, arise from this source? If so, away with all the contrivances "to decorate a gaudy bubble, burnish a button, or gild a trinket," and let the human mind rise to its natural dignity, nor longer

remain in darkness;—sunk in depravity, unconscious of its powers and its worth.

Speaking in terms of admiration and commendation of the state of the arts in this favourite abode of them, the mind of the philanthropist will be forced to recur to the condition of society in which they are so carefully and so successfully fostered. He who views mankind with a common and equal interest to their welfare, in the survey which he may take of the condition of the manufacturers, will not find many traits to afford him much permanent pleasure. Perhaps I am not qualified to speak of the state of society here, but were I to form an opinion from what I know of it in other manufacturing towns, or from the opportunities which have been furnished me during my stay, it would not be at all favourable.

As it is in Manchester, and other extensive manufacturing communities, a great many minister to the wants of an individual: the greater number are subservient to the views of a few. Wealth is distributed with unequal hands; and while some live in splendour, encompassed by every thing to make life comfortable, thousands know such a state only by seeing it.

Born in degradation and brought up in ignorance,

they drag out a servile existence, seemingly unconscious of their nature; and die as their fathers have done before them, without having advanced a single step to independence, or to the improvement of their intellectual faculties. If such be the condition of so large a portion of society, and if such be necessary for the support of manufactures, neither, surely, are congenial to the cultivation of intellect, or the security of political freedom.

Man, under such circumstances, will find it difficult to attain that station in society for which the God of Nature has fitted him. But it may be asked, if this same agent has adapted all men for the more honourable and dignified walks of life? Are not many intended for "hewers of wood and drawers of water?" I admit that native genius and strength of mind, are greater in some than in others; but I contend for the truth of the position, that education and the multiplication of the sources of improvement, will elevate a mind from the darkness of a coal-pit to soar in the regions of space among the planetary systems. These powerful agents may make a Newton of a miner, and may fit *him* for the most polished state of society, who has before known it only in its rudest garb.

I have no reason to believe that such sentiments often or ever occupy the minds of the manufacturers

of the lower order in Birmingham, and its environs. They seemed to be servile and ignorant,—anxious to make and sell their wares, and artful in practising deceptions. In general, they cannot be trusted, for they are faithless in their promises, both as to their punctuality in the execution of orders, and in the quality of goods ordered. A circumspection is rendered necessary in most cases, which to liberal minds it is painful to observe, and disgraceful to those to whom it is exercised. This, however, is indispensable, since most of the artists have intimately blended deception with their trades. Indeed, so common is this, that an American gentleman who has established himself in Birmingham, as a commission merchant, told me, that such was the disposition of some of the manufacturers to deceive, that they would in a variety of ways which it was almost impossible to detect; and he mentioned, as an instance, that in ordering buttons, he was compelled to take the diameter to prevent being cheated in the size.

Their general ignorance of the geographical position and division of North-America comprehended in the United States, is not less remarkable than their knavery. Most of them speak of our country under the general name of America; and seem to

have no idea of the division into states, their separate and distinct agricultural and commercial interests, and of the trade which they respectively pursue. In recommending their articles for sale, I have frequently heard them observe, that so many or such a quantity has been "ordered for America;" and upon inquiring to what part of our continent they were sent,—to Canada, Nova-Scotia, or Quebec, has been the reply.

Those who visit Birmingham to purchase its manufactures, are surprised at the speedy knowledge which is obtained of their arrival. I had not taken lodgings more than a day or two, before I was called on from various quarters with cards and offers of service in the respective departments of the artists, with abundant promises of punctuality and faithfulness. I could only account for the speedy knowledge they obtain of the arrival of strangers, by believing they receive it from the waiters and servants at the inns and hotels; who, in return, probably receive a reward for the information they give, for *all* expect it, and *all must have it*.

With the hasty, but in the aggregate, correct view of the capacities and disposition of the manufacturers, it will not be imagined, that with such a people the moral character will advance much

towards its highest state of excellence. I will not deny that manufactures add to the wealth of a country; but I am not disposed to believe that in any instance they are subservient to the interests of religion, morality, or any of those qualities which mark the most polished state of society. Facts very abundantly prove this. Habits of virtue are seldom acquired by those of all ages and both sexes, who are necessarily herded together in the same apartment for weeks, months, and years. There is a depravity to be witnessed in the large manufacturing towns which is shocking to decency, and which is unknown in places where men and women, boys and girls, are not crowded promiscuously together.

We are almost as apt to associate immoralities, or low and vulgar vice, with large manufactories, as we are to unite peace and virtue with a country life, in opposition to tumult, strife, and a display of all the boisterous passions, with a residence in cities.

Aim not, Americans! to establish extensive manufactories, nor crowd your youth in unwholesome apartments. Encourage agriculture and its handmaid, commerce. You will thus insure to your descendants more vigorous constitutions, minds more dignified and independent, habits more congenial to virtue, and a love of country, more ardent, glowing,

and sincere. And are such things to be placed in competition with wealth? Will a rapid influx of this into a country, produce correspondent blessings? The experience of all ages and of all countries would seem to give the negative to this question; and though national wealth may be considered as national glory, it cannot be considered as productive of national felicity.

That the facts I have stated are generally correct, is manifested from the general character of the lower classes in manufacturing towns. When riots disturb the peace of a community, and set at defiance the laws of justice and order, who are the principal actors in the degrading scenes? Those chiefly, who are employed in the large manufactories. At the assizes in Warwick, I was told that Birmingham furnished a greater proportion of criminals at every term, than every other part of Warwickshire together.

Indeed, no extraordinary capacity or uncommon discernment is required, to convince any one that Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and other similar places, are not more congenial to the cultivation of virtuous and steady habits, than the pleasures of a ball-room are favourable to intense thought on metaphysical subjects.

This matter being important and interesting, I shall be excused for making a quotation of some length, because it is appropriate, and from a work of no ordinary character.

“After the American war, spinning mills were established upon the Clyde, and other streams, wherever a powerful waterfall could be obtained for giving motion to machinery. As it was necessary to establish these works upon rivers having a rapid descent, and as this circumstance could only be found in solitary places, remote from towns, the singular spectacle was speedily seen, of great buildings erected, and a crowded population collected, in sequestered glens by the side of every considerable stream. As the employment of feeding the machinery with wool, and other operations connected therewith, are of extreme simplicity, young children, by the time they attained to seven or eight years, were found capable of performing them. Poor persons having large families were induced to send their children to earn a subsistence for themselves at these manufactories, at each of which many hundred were assembled. Some of the undertakers of these works were men of great piety and benevolence. They considered themselves as the patrons of the poor when they supported their children in the manner now

mentioned, and they frequently gave salaries to teachers, by whom the children were instructed at their hours of relaxation from labour. But from what can be learned from the clergy and otherwise, there is much reason to apprehend, that these establishments have not proved favourable to the morals or character of the people. To rear or train up a human being to the possession of a valuable character, it is not enough that he have bread to eat, or even that a teacher shall instruct him to read his own language or to repeat a catechism. It is necessary that during his earliest years his affections should be cultivated by parental kindness, and that the patriotic and other sentiments which prevail in society, should be instilled into his mind. It is likewise of importance to both sexes that they set before them an example of frugality, and of proper domestic management, that they may themselves be enabled at a future period to become useful members of families. But by the establishments now alluded to, no opportunity of this sort could be afforded. Before the parental and filial affections had fully operated, they were dissolved by the remoyal of the parties from each other. The children knew no other relation in this life than that of master and servant; that attachment to their kindred or their

country, which is productive of a love of character and of so many virtues, could never arise in their minds; their only society consisted of infants like themselves, equally insulated and cast out from the world: having their bread provided without any care, either exerted by themselves, or seen to be exerted in their society, they could acquire no foresight; and that mode of life necessarily prevented their obtaining an acquaintance with any kind of domestic management; hence they became totally unfit to manage families of their own. Children thus reared have also been found, for the same reason, more unfit than any others to hold the station of domestic servants, by which a part of the defects of their early education might have been remedied.

“Of late, in consequence of the facility with which it has been found practicable to apply the steam engine to every sort of manufacture or mechanical operation requiring a powerful first mover, mills for spinning cotton begin to be erected, not as formerly in remote and sequestered valleys, but in the midst of great cities and populous villages. Hence benevolent and intelligent men perceive with satisfaction, that a part of the evils already noticed are likely to be done away. Children employed at them will reside in the houses of their parents

during their early infancy, and the ties of domestic affection, which are of the highest importance to the moral welfare of a people, will not be prematurely broken. Still, however, it becomes necessary for the public at large, and for the guardians of public morals and literature, to be very vigilant to prevent, if possible, the poor in this quarter of the country from neglecting the education of their children, and exhibiting to a future age the character of the population of Scotland in a degraded state. In a vast variety of operations connected with manufactures, very young children can earn considerable wages by their labour. These wages in the case of large families, are apt to prove an irresistible temptation to the parents, and to induce them, by premature confinement, to impair their children's health, and by withdrawing them from schools, to commit an irreparable injury against their future character and prospects."*

* Beauties of Scotland.

LETTER XVII.

Birmingham—Conduct of the People at the Theatre—
 Doctor Priestley—Public Gardens—Ashted—Salubrity
 of Birmingham—Soho—Coining Machinery—Beauty
 of the Works, and Natural Scenery—Condition of the
 Manufacturers.

BIRMINGHAM, although strictly a place of trade, is not without its fashionable amusements. Its theatre is distinguished for its elegant architecture, and will contain about two thousand people. I visited it but once, and had no reason to be gratified with the performance, or the propriety of behaviour in the pit audience. A vulgar herd filled it, and as they assembled, they gradually ascended into the boxes until they forced those who had taken seats therein, to leave them.

To remonstrate was idle; to resist was useless. Such is the temper and such the violence of a mob, that nothing but a superior and a military force will curb its licentiousness and check its fury.*

* The behaviour of the people on this occasion brought to my recollection the conduct of a mob towards Doctor Priest-

About one mile and a half from the centre of the town are public gardens, upon a plan similar to those of Vauxhall, near London. Though they are but a very imperfect resemblance to those of the metropolis, a stranger who is tired of the noise of hammers and the smoke of furnaces, will be highly gratified with a walk thither; and while viewing the elegant chapel of Ashted, which decorates a hamlet of the same name, will fancy he breathes a purer air.

To the enterprise and public spirit of an individual, is this hamlet indebted for its origin; and though Birmingham is under obligations to him for this very elegant appendage, his family date their ruin to his vanity; for to give a name to a villa he ruined himself, or as it has been appropriately expressed, "he buried his patrimony in bricks and mortar." In this manner are private vices or follies of public utility.

Unlike most large and crowded places, Birming-

ley in 1791, when his dwelling, library, manuscripts, and philosophical apparatus, were most wantonly destroyed, and his life endangered. By such licentiousness and cruelties was this reverend divine forced to leave his native country, and to seek an asylum in ours. Thus we claimed *him* as a citizen who had illumined science, and ranked among the most distinguished of literary men. I was shown the spot on which Dr. Priestley's house stood.

ham is said to be very healthy, and perhaps much is owing to its topographical situation. The inclined position of most of the streets is favourable for the conveyance of filthy matter, which is constantly accumulating from the workshops, and from the dwellings of the numerous poor, in confined lanes and narrow streets. This circumstance, with good water, and pure air, (for which it is also noted,) is to be viewed as the principal cause of its salubrity. It is worthy of physical enquiry, that Birmingham, notwithstanding the variety of trades which are carried on, the exhalations from metallic bodies consequent thereto, a crowded population, and the continual smoke which fills the atmosphere, from forges, furnaces, glass-houses, &c., is a healthy place. As I have already remarked, I would attribute its peculiar salubrity to its situation being so favourable for the removal of excrementitious matter, and the chemical action of smoke on the atmosphere.

The communication of this town with various other parts of the kingdom, by canals, is of incalculable advantage to it.

I had a desire to obtain a more intimate knowledge of the manufactures, than is usual with American merchants or adventurers, and with this view, remained several weeks; acquiring such information

as gave me the power to do my own business, and to gratify my curiosity in a most satisfactory way. It is scarcely necessary to add that I was both delighted and improved.

Various and vast as are the works of Birmingham, strictly speaking, they dwindle into insignificance when compared with those at Soho. No one should neglect to visit this favourite abode of the arts. It is two miles from Birmingham, on the road to Wolverhampton. It was the residence of the late Mr. Boulton, who, with Mr. Watt, produced by their united genius the important improvements in steam engines, and who jointly erected the works, which for extent, beauty, ingenuity and importance, are unequalled and unrivalled. I walked out one morning, and had a view of their show-room, where the manufactured articles are exposed for sale; but *no one* is permitted to see the work-shops: this prohibition became indispensable, for the crowds that were wont to resort thither from curiosity, were found to be troublesome to the workmen. The duke of Norfolk made a visit to Soho not long since, from London, but his grace was treated like ordinary visitors; and a short time before my arrival, sir Sydney Smith was there, but he also departed without seeing the works. Knowing these re-

dimension of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten; to attend to the neglected; and to compare and collate the distressed of all men in all countries. His plan is original, and it is as full of genius, as it is of humanity. It is a voyage of philanthropy,—a circumnavigation of charity! Already the benefit of this labour itself is felt more or less in every country. I hope he will anticipate his final reward by seeing all its effects fully realized in his own. He will receive, not in retail, but in gross, the reward of those who visit the prisoner; and he has so far forestalled and monopolized this branch of charity, that there will be, I trust, little room to merit by such acts of benevolence hereafter.”

These remarks were published in various works, and were widely diffused; but the theme of Mr. Howard’s meritorious services was not confined to statesmen, divines, and orators; for, in illustration and praise of them, poets stepped forth, and united the fire of their genius to the display of truth.

Amidst the splendid variety with which the author of the *Botanic Garden* embellishes his fanciful work, we are presented with the following eulogium on Mr. Howard:

— And now Benevolence! thy rays divine
Dart round the globe from Zembla to the Line:
O’er each dark prison plays the cheering light,
Like northern lustres o’er the vault of night.
From realm to realm, with cross or crescent crown’d,
Where’er mankind or misery are found,
O’er burning sands, deep waves, or wilds of snow,
Thy Howard journeying, seeks the house of woe.
Down many a winding step to dungeons dank,
Where anguish wails aloud, and fetters clank;
To caves bestrewed with many a mouldering bone,
And cells whose echoes only learn to groan;

Where no kind bars a whispering friend disclose
 No sun beam enters, and no zephyr blows,
 He treads, inemulous of fame or wealth,
 Profuse of toil, and prodigal of health;
 With soft assuasive eloquence expands
 Power's rigid heart, and opes his clenching hands;
 Leads stern-eyed justice to the dark domains,
 If not to sever, to relax the chains;
 Or guides awakened mercy through the gloom,
 And shows the prison, sister to the tomb!
 Gives to her babes the self-devoted wife,
 To her fond husband, liberty and life.—
 —The spirits of the good, who bend from high
 Wide o'er these earthly scenes their partial eye,
 When first arrayed in virtue's purest robe
 They saw her Howard traversing the globe;
 Saw round his brows her sun-like glory blaze
 In arrowy circles of unwearied rays;
 Mistook a mortal for an angel guest,
 And ask'd what seraph-foot the earth imprest.
 — Onwards he moves! Disease and death retire,
 And murmuring demons hate him, and admire.

I will conclude this subject with the following emphatic
 lines from Haley's Ode to Mr. Howard.

Blest Howard! who like thee can feel
 This vital spring in all its force?
 New star of philanthropic zeal,
 Enlight'ning nations in thy course!
 And shedding comfort's heavenly dew
 On meager want's deserted crew!
 Friend to the wretch, whom friends disclaim,
 Who feels stern justice, in his famish'd flame,
 A persecuting fiend beneath an angel's name.

strictions, I had no expectation of seeing the artists at work; and although I had a letter of introduction from a most valued friend in Leeds, to Mr. Watt, and with whom he is most closely connected by the ties of friendship, I declined delivering it until a few hours previous to my departure from Birmingham, that I might not seem to be indirectly soliciting a favour.

The works at this place are considered of the first national importance; but I am totally unqualified to enter into a detail of all the mechanical and philosophical operations, which are here conducted on a scale equally extensive and splendid. Amidst a variety which serves to bewilder a mind unused to complicated machinery, the operations of the coining-mill, which is worked by a steam engine, would afford much gratification. It is observed by a late author, that the one which was erected in 1788, and which has since undergone several improvements, can work eight machines, each of which strikes off from seventy to eighty pieces per minute, the size of a guinea, which is equal to thirty thousand and forty thousand per hour. The same blow which strikes the sides, also makes the impression on the edge, either plain or lettered. Thus every piece is uniformly round and of equal diameter.

The ingenious proprietors of these beautiful works have been engaged in coining small copper money for the East-India Company, for the Sierra Leone and African Company, as also for the government itself. No expense or efforts have been spared to collect workmen in every department of the metals; and by the encouragement which has been thus held forth, men of genius and of rival talents have been brought together.* Many of the fashions which take the lead in London in articles of plate, have their origin at Soho; and from the taste and excellence of the workmanship, the prices far exceed those ordinarily given for *similar* productions.

More than six hundred persons are constantly employed here, and the whole works occupy several acres of ground. They are neat, convenient, uniform in appearance, and possessed of considerable architectural beauty.

In the adjoining grounds you will discover the same genius, for they are tastefully laid out and decorated with groves and gardens, giving to the whole scenery a highly picturesque aspect. Indeed, that which was beautiful by nature, has been ex-

* "The rays of scattered genius," says a late author, "have been concentrated in a point so luminous, that its splendour has reached the remotest shores of Europe and America."

quisitely adorned by art. The dwelling of the hospitable proprietor, has been of late very much enlarged, and from the roof a varied and beautiful prospect is spread before the eyes.

This celebrated spot, which may be considered as the favourite abode of the arts, is thus mentioned by Bissett in his Magnificent Directory.

“ On yonder gentle slope, which shrubs adorn,
Where grew of late “rank weeds,” gorse, ling, and thorn,
Now pendant woods, and shady groves are seen,
And nature there assumes a nobler mien.
There verdant lawns, cool grotts, and peaceful bow’rs
Luxuriant, now, are strewed with sweetest flow’rs.
Reflected by the lake, which spreads below,
All nature smiles around—there stands Soho!
Soho! where genius and the arts preside,
Europa’s wonder and Britannia’s pride;
Thy matchless works have raised old England’s fame,
And future ages will record thy name;
Each rival nation shall to thee resign
The palm of Taste, and own—’tis justly thine;
Whilst commerce shall to thee an altar raise,
And infant genius learn to lisp thy praise:
Whilst art and science reign, they’ll still proclaim
Thine! ever blended with a Boulton’s name.”

I wish the picture which could be justly given of the moral character, personal and domestic condition of the artists of Birmingham, was as beautiful, as that which is afforded by their wares; but alas!

there is an almost immeasurable distance between the industry and ingenuity of the artisans, and their morals and domestic comforts.

The purchaser of Birmingham wares, while viewing the variety of ingenious processes for perfecting them from the rude raw material to the high state of finished beauty, goes off well pleased and gratified with the skill of the artificers; but here his observation ends: he is ignorant of the vice which attends their formation, nor is it necessary to his pursuits that he should extend the enquiry. Following the workmen from their shops to their homes, or to their haunts, a far different scene opens to the mind of the philosophical observer; and it is such a scene as is well calculated to excite our commiseration. All the pleasing sensations which were excited in the work-shop and show-room, vanish when we look at the artificers as citizens, husbands, wives, children, parents, or friends.

In these several stations the mind finds but little to dwell on with pleasure; for anarchy, confusion, and distress, are the general companions of the workmen, when they leave their shops, where order is indispensable, and where it is enforced.

To trace the causes of all the depravity and the complicated distress which attend the manufacturers

at their homes, to their ultimate effects, would be interesting to the philosophical mind; but it would be a source of little pleasure to the philanthropist. I witnessed enough to be satisfied that there is infinitely more of vice than virtue in the moral character of the greatest proportion of the manufacturers, and much more of extreme wretchedness than of the common comforts of life. This subject, however, is extremely copious, and requires a longer residence than I made to discuss it in the manner it requires.

From all I saw, and from all I learned, I became more and more convinced of the immoral tendency of manufacturing systems; and that in proportion as a nation may grow rich from their extension and increase, the large mass of the people who are employed in them will become wretched and depraved.

I wish to be very distinctly understood, and in expressing my opposition to manufactures, I mean those where the chief capital employed, is the labour. Where this becomes necessary to perfect an article, perhaps of trifling value, such as a pin, a button, or an insignificant trinket, by a division and subdivision of labour; and where, moreover, it is done by the labour of men, women and children, the latter apart from the guidance and protection of

their natural guardians, I cannot express myself in terms of too much disapprobation. In such the manufacturer is a most dependent being; he cannot be the vender of the most trifling article on his own account, and hence he is subjected to the caprice, and is at the mercy of his employer. Take such a being from his usual employment, and he is cast upon society for his support, or he resorts to the highway, unless perchance he meets with a press-gang, or enlists as a soldier.

The army of Great Britain finds her most ample resources for men in the neighbourhood of large manufacturing places; for there men are met with without any of those strong and endearing ties which bind them to society.

On the contrary, I am an advocate for all *domestic* manufactures, strictly so called, or those conducted in families, where there is not a promiscuous assemblage of men and women, and the children who may be employed are under the watchful eyes of their parents. Here bad habits are not so readily formed, and vice is less contagious. Those also, the chief value of which is the material employed, and which may be of our own product, should meet our fostering protection; and this might be extended to all bulky articles of little value, the first cost of

which in England, is not equal to the value of the freight and the duties: for in the purchase of such the buyer pays twice or perhaps three times as much as the same article would cost if made in his own country.

This would be the line of demarkation I would draw, and thus far I would accede to the propriety of encouraging manufactures. With our present population, with the extent of territory we possess, with the facility of acquiring landed property, the form and spirit of our government, with the temper and disposition of the people, I think it impolitic to *force* their establishment. In *time of peace*, especially, the capital of our country can be more advantageously employed in commercial adventures; and while wealth will flow into it with a more abundant and copious stream, those who are thus engaged, will be better fitted for the just discharge of the various duties of a good citizen.

It is not the interest of the government to force their establishment by unusual and oppressive restrictions on trade; for thus supported, they are premature in their growth, like plants in a hot-bed.

At this stage of our population, it is maddening folly and stupid policy to aim at a rivalry with Great Britain in her manufactures; and from the

moment that we see such places as Manchester and Birmingham in our country, should we date the commencement of a system dangerous to its liberties, and fraught with principles most inimical to the happiness of the people.

LETTER XVIII.

Departure from Birmingham—Ruins of Mr. Taylor's House, and the conduct of a Mob in 1791—Doctor Parr—Mrs. Parks—Martha Osborn, and some reflections on her Case.

I SHALL for the present bid adieu to the noise of hammers, furnaces and steam-engines: I shall for awhile forsake the dust and smoke of Birmingham, where the nature of my business and the mode in which I was determined to execute it, has reluctantly detained me much longer than I intended; and it was not until the twenty-second of August, that I bade farewell to this favourite abode of the arts. On this day I set off for London by the way of Warwick, distant twenty miles.

Immediately after passing through Deritend, which is a suburb of Birmingham, I noticed the brick walls of a very stately house, on a beautiful lawn, a little to the left of the road. On making enquiry, I was told it was once the residence of a Mr. Taylor, who suffered with Dr. Priestley and a

few others, from the savage fury of the mob in 1791. His house and furniture were burnt; and as a memento and proof of the licentious wickedness of the people, he permits the naked walls to remain, refusing to sell the ground and unwilling to improve it. Mr. Taylor has done as I would have done myself under similar circumstances; and more fully to perpetuate the maddening folly of a people, I would have reared a pillar or ornament on the spot, with an appropriate inscription, to express my detestation of an act, which was dishonourable to the government, which bade defiance to the laws, made a mockery of justice, and set at nought the sacred rights of individuals. Mobs are disgraceful to any government or to any people; and in addition to the strong arm of the law which should be stretched forth to quell the many-headed monster, all lovers of order should unite to oppose tumultuous assemblages; and the severest penalties ought to be enforced against those who should be found violating the bulwark of every man's right.

My seat was on the outside of the coach, which afforded me an opportunity of beholding much delightful scenery. A few miles from Warwick, on the right of the road, I passed the residence of the celebrated Doctor Samuel Parr,—a man who claims the

first rank in classical literature. Among other eccentricities blended in the character of this learned divine, he has his arms emblazoned on the front of his house. I arrived at Warwick about mid-day.

It being a term for the assizes, I met with a considerable difficulty in procuring a room; but having a letter of introduction to Mr. Parks, I found in his hospitality very ample amends for the want of accommodation at the inn where the coach had left me. I was introduced to a most interesting family, with whom I remained several days, enjoying that high and peculiar gratification which is always afforded by unaffected kindness, and genuine politeness.

Justice and gratitude compel me to do homage to the accomplishments of Mrs. Parks. I have rarely seen a female with a mind more cultivated, with a taste more pure, with a fondness for literature more ardent; and with all these, she possesses an affability not commonly associated with the higher order of female talents, which rendered her company and conversation both desirable and interesting.

Her superior mind was evinced on many occasions, and it was strongly marked in the advanced state of her children's education. She gave them by her example, and by her precepts, a taste for im-

provement, which was hastened almost beyond their years; and it might be truly said of them, that they loved learning for learning's sake.

Warwick is a small town, containing about seven thousand inhabitants. The houses, though not generally of modern date, are good; and the streets are well paved, neat, and cleanly; they are spacious and regular, forming a junction in the centre of the town. The buildings are principally of stone, which is easily procured, for the whole town is built on a soft rock, and all the principal entrances are cut through it. Some of the buildings, as the town hall, and the church of St. Nicholas, are worth viewing. The latter has a very lofty spire or steeple.

How different the stillness which reigns here from that of the place I had just left! From the order, quiet, and cleanliness of Warwick, it will soon be discovered not to be a place of trade, and that it is not the seat of manufactures. The only important one which it has, is of worsted, for the supply of Leicester, Nottingham, and other markets, and is the property of Mr. Parks.

The Avon, which nearly washes the walls of the town, is here rather a sluggish and turbid stream.

Warwick has claims to antiquity, and has been the sport of fortune; for it has experienced a variety

of fates. The assizes and quarter sessions are held here. Adjoining the court-house is the gaol, which is built of free-stone, and is large and commodious. I had occasion to visit it several times, and was much pleased to observe the uncommon cleanliness with which it was kept. Prisoners are not crowded together; one, and sometimes two, are lodged in the same room, each having a decent bed.

From the gaol there is a subterranean communication to the court-room, to conduct prisoners when they are summoned to their trial.

I say I had occasion to visit the gaol, and as the result of the business which called me there has led to some important conclusions, I will relate it in detail. The narrative will, however, be necessarily interrupted.

The assizes were holding while I was in Warwick, and Mrs. Parks informed me that the day before my arrival, a young woman had been tried and sentenced to transportation for seven years, for stealing a few articles of trifling value. The cruel sentence was inflicted, notwithstanding a variety of circumstances appeared on the trial to extenuate the offence. Justice, thought I, thou art really blind! The peculiar manner in which Mrs. Parks detailed this case, evinced her charity for the distressed, and

her feelings for the unfortunate; and interested my own so much as to induce me to devise a plan for having her sentence reversed or remitted. Difficulties at first seemed to interpose themselves, which appeared to be insurmountable with me as a *stranger*; yet quixotic as might seem the attempt, I determined to make it; for in such a case, even defeat or disappointment would be honourable.

The subject of this narrative was Martha Osborn, from Birmingham, aged twenty, who had been tried before the honourable sir Nash Grose, one of the judges of his majesty's court of King's Bench. At first I determined on making a personal application to the judge; but in this I was disappointed, for his honour had left Warwick the day before, for London. Thus was I defeated in my first effort. From several visits to this unfortunate young woman in gaol, I had learned who were her connections, where they lived, and with whom she had resided. I was also told, that her character before had been fair and unimpeached. With these facts I commenced my work, by procuring from her the names of individuals whom she knew in Birmingham, and I wrote to a correspondent there to procure certificates of her general good conduct, and forward duplicates to me in London. It fortunately happened that

among many others who dined at Mr. Parks, was Mr. Sergeant Rough, from London, to whom Mrs. Parks and myself mentioned the case of Martha Osborn. He seemed to feel on the occasion, as became a man of sensibility and humanity; and after making some general and appropriate remarks, he concluded by offering me his assistance and giving me his address, which was No. 24, King's Road, Bedford Square. The work thus favourably progressed: I told Martha my efforts should be made for her release, but that she could scarcely hope for my success.

If youth and beauty could be supposed to have prompted me to exertion in this matter, they would have had their influence, for she was both young and handsome: and if any confidence can be placed in physiognomonical traits, she had a heart not callous to virtue.

Admiration of her personal charms, however they might interest the passions, had no influence on this occasion; but impressed with the sentiment that virtue was not extinct in her bosom; that the punishment to which a cruel law had sentenced her, was greatly disproportionate to her crime; and that she might be restored from the path she had wandered, I thought it a duty to offer the feeble and uncertain

aid of which my obscure character would admit. I was, moreover, encouraged to proceed, from a belief, that, as a stranger, I should be absolved from the charge of being influenced by any other motives than those of benevolence.

Perhaps, thought I, this young offender has committed the unfortunate act for which she was about to suffer an ignominious punishment, in a heedless moment, unconscious of the enormity affixed to it by the law, and ignorant of the penal consequences.

All are not wicked or vicious who commit a solitary offence against divine or human laws; and if every one were to be cut off from society, or placed in a situation where every form or feature of vice was continually presented, and where virtue was known only by its name, few, I believe, would be able to screen themselves behind the altar of immaculate purity; or prevent the moral sense from being deadened by being compelled from the injudicious penalties of the law to be made constant witnesses of the most gross indecencies and blasphemous immoralities.

If vice be not infectious, it at least receives countenance or sanction where it is not openly combated; and how fruitless are the efforts to inculcate morality or to preach the pure doctrines of religion to a herd

of beings hackneyed in vice, and who have been banished from their country, families, and friends! Such is the state of the wretched creatures whom the British government exile to Botany Bay, and such their hopeless condition of regaining the stations they may severally have enjoyed in their native or adopted societies, that despair seizes on their minds, conscience becomes scared, and they think it just to retaliate in every possible way for what they deem the law's cruel sentence. Few, I repeat, (and circumstances justify the assertion,) there are, who would not, with equal justice with the person I have mentioned, be obliged to pay a forfeit of greater or less magnitude to violated laws. My feelings were excited in a peculiar manner at the miserable prospect which was extended before this hapless being; and in obedience to their impulse, in combination with what I thought an incumbent obligation, I was determined to suffer no relaxation in my exertions for the remission of her sentence. With what success will hereafter appear.

LETTER XIX.

Remarks on Crimes and Punishments, continued.

IT is somewhat foreign from the object of these letters to expatiate upon the penal system of this kingdom; but it is evident to the most common understanding, that among the important ends to be attained in every criminal code, are the restriction of capital punishments, as far as may be consistent with the safety of the social compact, and the substitution of every milder and better method, for rendering the guilty beneficial to the community, for correcting moral turpitude, promoting habits of industry, and implanting in their breasts such sentiments as will defend them against the temptations by which they have been before led astray.

The boasted constitution of England is not without its defects; and in the administration of justice, it must be admitted that undue and unnecessary severity has been exercised.

I would not withhold due and merited praise to the government of England for the excellence and

wisdom of its institutions; and to the philanthropic individuals who, with Howard for their pioneer, have meliorated the state of its prisons and bridewells, I would grant all due honours.

The plans suggested by *him* who sacrificed private ease for the public good, who volunteered his services for the condemned and distressed, and distributed his fortune to lessen their sufferings, have been adopted in many places; and even those who cannot directly acknowledge Mr. Howard as their benefactor, who from misfortunes or their crimes have become tenants of the lonely cell or dreary dungeon, must indirectly look to him as the author of their comparatively comfortable state.

By such men much has been done, and yet much remains to be done.

The condition of the prisons I saw afforded me much gratification, as they evinced a progressive state of improvement. I must be indulged in making some remarks on the penal system of a country which boasts of the freedom of its people; a system which dooms so many to death and to banishment.

The sanguinary hue of the criminal code of England, has long been a subject of just reproach with the advocates of mild punishments; and it is indeed not in unison with the character of the people:

Many efforts have been made to revise and amend a code, the undue severity of which has been acknowledged and lamented; and the labours of sir Samuel Romilly in parliament to effect this are equally honourable to his head and heart, and affords a prospect of the ultimate triumph of humanity.

Experience has amply proved that it is not the severity, but the *mildness* and *certainly* of punishments, which most certainly lessens the number of criminal offences. The United States, and particularly the state of Pennsylvania, have furnished a lesson to the world in exemplification of the excellent effects which result from confinement and labour, in substitution of the pillory, the whipping-post, and the gallows. These are alike disgraceful to humanity and to an enlightened people, and they defeat the object of their barbarity.

The end of justice, I repeat, is the safety of individuals, the security of their persons, their lives, and property; a retribution for injuries they may have sustained, and the well-being of society. Vengeance belongs only to God, and where punishments are not proportioned to crimes, they become cruelties, and are made fit engines for a tyrant's power. As cowardice is generally the companion of cruelty, so tyranny is supported by barbarity. The despot sub-

stitutes force for right, and suffers the passions to usurp the place of reason. Hence, we find, in all despotic governments the laws are cruel, and as advances are made to refinement and civilization, the progress is marked by an amelioration of criminal punishments. England, however, is an example of the first, without a correspondent change in the latter. For a period too long, has the most fatal errors been interwoven with the criminal code, and some of their best and most learned civilians have both opposed and lamented their existence. They have witnessed with concern the many victims who are sacrificed to false justice or the tyranny of laws, which, instead of making men better, consign them to ignominious deaths, or are doomed to spend the remnant of their days in a state of degradation in an inhospitable climate. Englishmen! this is a reproach upon your characters. How long will you view with unconcern the blood-stained code of your country? How long will you suffer your wives, your children, your brothers, your sisters, or your friends, to be the victims of punishments for crimes which should only attach to enormous offences? Shall not the unprincipled villain who robs and murders, the monster who forcibly violates the chastity of a female, the wretch who fires your house, or the traitor

who would involve your country in the horrors of rebellion, be viewed as more atrocious criminals, than the petty villain who steals a few shillings? Must the young offender against the laws of God and man, he who is alike a novice in the world and in vice, and *he* who has grown old in infamy, be thought equally guilty, and equally meriting the penalties which attaches to violation of the laws? Is this the mode which the Author of our being will pursue towards his rebellious children? Should we not suppose he will distribute punishments in just measure for crimes? Can we, or ought we to expect mercy from our Creator, if we deny it to our fellow-creatures? Such an opinion would be almost impious, and implicates the impartiality of God, which is equal to his justice, and his mercy to both. He makes no distinction of sinners, except in a ratio to the magnitude of their offences.

To the mind of the philanthropist the penal system of England presents a painful subject of reflection; and if he has cause to mourn for the number who are sentenced to disgraceful exile, how much more poignant must be his sensations for the many who expiate for their offences on the gallows or the gibbet? What, I say, must be his feelings at beholding this useless, inefficacious, and bloody mode of

punishment, or when he sees the gaols pouring forth swarms who are to be immolated to the cruelty of the laws? Well, may he exclaim, this is not justice, or the semblance of it!

There are radical errors in the criminal laws of England; for it has been testified by long experience that they have not diminished the number of crimes. This alone points out the necessity of a reform, and it is moreover enjoined by the best, and the wisest maxims of civil policy. The subject has lately engrossed the parliament, and called forth the sentiments of many of its most learned members. Some, with a zeal justified by the subject, have declared the criminal laws of the kingdom required great amelioration. Like those of Draco, they are stained with blood, and foreign nations have expressed their abhorrence of a system alike odious and cruel. Perhaps no better proof could be adduced of the necessity of a reform, than that the general sentiment is in opposition to the present system; that the theory and the practice are at variance; the former being cruel, averse to the mild doctrines of Christianity, while the latter is honourable to the benevolence of the national character.

I say honourable to the national feelings, and culprits are aware of this. Knowing the undue

severity of the penalties, they make their calculations for evading them, first, from the frequent dislike manifested by prosecutors to proceed to trial; secondly, from the temper of juries to lean towards the side of mercy, or if they find a verdict of guilt, to recommend the culprit to mercy; and thirdly, from the interposition of the pardoning power. Thus are the laws made inert. This is the consequence of having the crimes and the punishment disproportionate. A kind of perjury is thus introduced and sanctioned, the moral obligations which should be imperious on juries are relaxed, and the consequences to the happiness and virtue of society are of the first importance.

It has been stated upon authority not to be questioned, that of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two persons convicted of the offence of stealing in a dwelling-house to the amount of forty shillings, and the punishment for which is death, only *one* had been executed. What stronger argument could be urged either that the law itself, or the practice of pardoning, is erroneous? The former is glaringly defective, and the best interests of society require its repeal. As an engine of terror, it is not heeded, and the principles of it are in total hostility to the feelings of the people. In fact, the law is abro-

gated virtually, for its penalty is never enforced. The culprit has no fears of death even from conviction; and, therefore, how much more rational, how much more just, how much more beneficial to society would it be, to make the punishment *less cruel*, and *more certain*! The principle cannot be too frequently and too urgently inculcated, that "the real certainty of a lesser punishment will have more effect in deterring from the commission of crime, than the imaginary terror of a greater punishment which probably may never be inflicted."

It is confirmed by the experience of past ages, and by the opinions of the best writers on civil and criminal law, that capital punishments are injurious to society from the examples of barbarity which they afford; and they moreover multiply instead of diminishing crimes. They may for a *short time* retard offences of a heinous nature against society, but their effect is ultimately lost, for the imagination is soon accustomed to view with indifference the degree of a punishment, where it is combined with the probability and the hope of *pardon*.

I could here cite a multitude of instances in support of the opinion, that the *certainty* of the punishment is the most effectual check to the perpetration of crimes. I could adduce the example of the Ro-

mans, and of many modern nations, in confirmation of all I have said. The late barbarous state of Russia has been partly meliorated, by an improvement in the criminal laws; the catalogue of high crimes has been diminished in Tuscany by the wise and bold policy of Leopold, who totally abolished every capital punishment.* How soothing this, to human nature, and how reverse is the reflection that a different system in France and in England has been defeated in its object by an increase of criminals! In the former, a multiplication of severe laws against highwaymen and other great offenders, has not lessened their number; and in the latter, they have not deprived the gibbet or the halter of a single victim. These facts are highly instructive; they plead more forcibly than reasoning, and they will derive additional support from an examination of the criminal

* It is said upon the best authority, that after the grand duke abolished death as a punishment for murder, only five were committed in his dominions in twenty years. The person who furnished this fact remained in Rome three months, subsequent to his residence in Tuscany, and yet here, where criminals are conducted to the gallows with much pomp, no fewer than sixty murders were committed in that short space of time. Between the people of Rome and Tuscany there is no difference in their religion and manners. Whence this wonderful difference in moral turpitude? The answer is obvious.

codes of other countries, where a judicious policy has triumphed over prejudices and cruelty.*

In Great Britain there were seventy thousand executions up to the year 1688, and what has been the effect upon the moral character and condition of the people of that small island? Examine the records of its courts, and see the frightful consequences of the continuance of a sanguinary system. It would seem, from the frequency of robberies, even under the gallows while a victim was launching into eternity, that moral turpitude kept pace with the cruelty of legal penalties. What country has its history so blood-stained by midnight assassinations and poisonings, and its quiet so often disturbed by conspiracies, as Rome in its decline? And what, it may be asked, was the cause? The frequent executions in the amphitheatres, in the presence of thousands of spectators, combined with the ignorance and depravity into which that *once* illustrious people had fallen, may be assigned with much truth.

* A law was passed in 1752 by the parliament of Great Britain, more effectually to prevent murder; and it enacted, that the body of the criminal should be delivered at Surgeon's Hall for dissection, in order to add to the terrors of the punishment of death. The effect was but momentary, for it has appeared by the tables of sir T. Jansen, that "on comparing the annual average of convictions for twenty-three years previous and subsequent to that statute, he found that the number of murders had not at all decreased."

Although it has been said by some enlightened civilians, that the number and magnitude of offences against the laws of society, are somewhat in proportion to the severity of the latter; and the reverse, that the former will decrease as the laws become milder; yet we must not view either the severity or mildness of laws, as the sole cause for the gradation of crimes. We must look to the constitution of human nature, the peculiar form and pressure of character which is produced by education. Crimes are the offspring of ignorance, abasement, and depraved manners; and in a country like that of which I have the happiness to be a member, severe laws are unnecessary, because the minds of the people are generally enlightened, and they are not depressed by tyranny. Hence *there*, mild penalties, with a *certainty* of being enforced, are engines of sufficient power to strike with terror, and prevent frequent enormities against society.

Ignorance and depravity are generally as intimately associated as ignorance and fanaticism. I would not say that vice is not attached to learning, for this would be an assertion which the experience of every man contradicts; but I would say, that the well-informed or enlightened mind, being more conscious of its dignity and importance, will view with

abhorrent feelings the perpetration of acts, which in a state of gross ignorance it would have either seized with pleasure, or relinquished with regret.

I must repeat, that it is most amply proved that severe laws are not adequate to the prevention of crimes; and as it is more desirable to prevent than to remove evils, so that system which has for its object the exclusion of crimes, is both more rational and more humane than one which has the insignia of the pillory, the wheel-barrow, and the gallows. Make men wise and you will make them better. Education will prevent or remove what the laws cannot effect. Every code of laws for the punishment of crimes should be accompanied by a dissemination of learning, and for every violation of the former the penalties should be rigidly enforced.* My own country as well as this, is fruitful in facts

* I hold it as truth, that every government, as the head of a great family, is accountable for the national character and demeanor. It is to the mass of the people, what a father is to his children. It becomes the former, therefore, by the establishment of Sunday, charity, and other public schools, and by other modes calculated to enlighten the mind, to close a spacious avenue to vice. A celebrated writer on criminal law has questioned the right of a government to punish its people, if it has not made any efforts to give them a knowledge of the laws, and of the duties which devolve upon them both in public and private life.

tending to support the assertion, that an enlightened people, having a better knowledge of the laws and of the duties of citizens, will more implicitly respect the former and discharge the latter. Executions are comparatively rare in the eastern states, and in no portion of the union is the general mass of the people so well-informed. It is a well-known fact that the peasantry and common people of Scotland are more religious and more moral than the same class in England and Ireland; it is also known that they are better informed. A late lord chief justice has asserted on the bench, that the paucity of criminal matter in Scotland is to be attributed to the character of the clergy, and the general attention which is bestowed on the education of youth. The same result would as necessarily flow from the same means, as that similar causes will, under like circumstances, always produce similar effects. In all countries we find the people cruel as they are depraved, and the more so as they are farther removed from a state of intellectual improvement. As they advance in this, civilization gilds the way, and the moral attributes become distinguished companions. Barbarous and savage nations are always cruel, and we as naturally ally inhumanity to a New-Zealander, a Caffre, or a North American Indian, as ferocity to a tyger or a lion.

The soul of a republic is in the virtue of the people. Is this less necessary in a monarchy? Should not the virtue and happiness of his subjects be considerations of the first importance with a king? Let him, then, make them enlightened; and our hopes for diminishing the number of crimes which so disgracefully swell the catalogue at every court, must rest upon a more general diffusion of learning among the great mass of the people. I am willing to bestow merited praise on the public institutions of this country; yet, notwithstanding the number of charity and Sunday schools; and the various efforts which private liberality and munificence have exerted to meliorate the condition and improve the minds of the vulgar, still there is much left to be done; and perhaps nothing less than some general mode of national education, some great plan of instruction, founded in a law of the government, will rouse the sluggish from a state of stupidity, urge them with a powerful stimulus to emerge from darkness and depravity, and, by assuming the dignity of human nature, most effectually evince the inutility and irrationality of cruel punishments.

This subject has led me from the path I was travelling, and in my next I will carry you with me to a spot celebrated by ancient fable, and modern grandeur.

LETTER XX.

Description of the Castle of the Earl of Warwick—Adjacent Grounds—Beautiful Vase dug out of Herculeum—Guy's Tower—The Priory—Guy's Cliff House.

ON leaving Birmingham, I had quit the most direct road for London, to take the ancient town of Warwick in my way, and to see the Castle, the property of the earl of Warwick.

It is a venerable and massy pile, kept in the best state of preservation, with two towers; and is situated on the northern bank of the Avon, which is here narrow, still and deep. The cliff on which it is built is forty feet above the level of the river. I was informed that the deranged state of the financial affairs of the proprietor of this princely abode, did not, at the period of my visit, permit him to occupy it.

After passing the outer gate and lodge, I proceeded a little way on a fine gravel walk to this splendid abode of nobility; the grounds adjacent to which are laid out and embellished in a style suited to the magnificence of such a building.

I was met at the door by a servant, whose duty it is to receive visitors, and was ushered from room to room with the ceremony usual on such occasions, and which is generally done in so much haste, as scarcely to permit visitors to do more than to glance at the pomp and magnificence which seizes on the eyes.

The furniture, the interior finishing, the paintings, busts, and every other decoration, are all in an appropriate style. Most of the bureaux, secretaries and tables, are ornamented in a manner equally novel, rich and beautiful. Some of the tops of the latter are of brass inlaid with steel, or *vice versa*: some are covered with tortoise shell, curiously inlaid with silver, and others of various coloured stones, arranged with great taste and neatness. Among a vast variety of objects, formed to please the eye of fancy and the man of taste, I saw the bed of state, in which Queen Anne once had slept.* It was almost viewed as sacred, and forbidden to be touched by the unhallowed fingers of plebeian

* In 1694 the castle suffered to a very great amount from an accidental fire. It was rebuilt by the aid of parliament, and by a gift from Queen Anne. To this circumstance may probably be owing the respect which is paid to her memory, in preserving with so much care the bed she had honoured.

folks. As a warning to visitors, and to prevent pollution, a label was attached to one of the posts. The paintings have been collected at a great expense, and most of them are from the best schools and by the most admired masters; I was told such a one was done by Corregio, another by Rubens, Titian, Vandyke, &c. Connoisseurs might have distinguished the pieces of each master, and pointed out the prominent beauties of each; but I confess I was not able in every instance to designate the fine touches in one, or defects in another. A full length portrait of Ignatius Loyala attracted my notice most particularly, for the admirable and animated expression of the countenance. Another of Van Tromp, the Dutch admiral, who so successfully engaged in several actions the British fleets, about the close of the seventeenth century, is also finely executed. He is represented with a broom in his hand, in illustration of one he carried at the top-mast head of his ship, declaring he would sweep the enemies of his country from the ocean.

A mere notice or enumeration of all the paintings which adorn the rooms of this magnificent abode, would have taken up much more time than strangers are generally allowed. They are permitted to look and to wonder, but not to examine and to criticise.

A painting in full size of Charles II. on horseback, when viewed at the proper distance and place, i. e. from the end of a long and narrow passage, has a fine effect, and the figures seem almost to be in motion.

The armoury, which fills a spacious room, is more for the pomp and parade of show, than for utility. It consists of a very considerable collection of curious guns, swords, pistols, cannons, daggers, shields, helmets, bows, arrows, &c. The armour which was worn by Guy, earl of Warwick, when he slew the Danish champion Colbrand, was shown to me; as was also the covering of finely polished steel wire, which once graced the person of the Amazonian Queen Elizabeth. Here was a complete coat of mail, such as was worn formerly by warriors in the tented field. Such things carry the mind back to a period when Englishmen had scarcely emerged from the darkness and barbarity of their origin, and were as much unlike their progeny in their habits, manners and education, as the latter are from the rude and unpolished savage of the wilderness.

Taste and elegance adorn the grounds adjacent and belonging to this spacious and superb mansion. Disposed in the finest style, intersected by beautiful

serpentine gravel walks, with here and there a verdant copse and grove, the visiter is insensibly led on to indulge in the charms of rural beauties, while silence invites him to pleasing contemplation.

On an ascending grass-plat is the green-house, which is very large, and filled with flowers and shrubs from every quarter of the habitable globe. In the centre of the room, elevated a few feet from the ground on a white marble pedestal, is the beautiful vase of the same stone, which was dug out of the ruins of Herculaneum, and presented to the Earl of Warwick, by his relation, the late Mr. Hamilton, who, at the time of its discovery, was minister from the court of Great Britain to that of Naples. This fine monument of the taste of the ancients, and of the perfection to which they had brought the art of sculpture, could contain, I was told, sixty gallons. The upper and exterior edge was adorned in alto relieve, with heads, festoons, bunches of grapes, &c. all of which were in the best preservation, except one head, which had been supplied by a modern artist.

In front of the castle (the walls of which it washes) and grounds belonging to it, is the "soft flowing Avon;" a stream which is rendered memo-

rable from being that on which the prince of the drama was born.*

Near to the castle was formerly a bridge over the Avon, of twelve arches. As rendering the domain too public, it has been demolished within a few years, and its place supplied by a very handsome one, a few hundred yards above.

Guy's tower is within fifty yards of the castle. I ascended to the top of it by a circular flight of one hundred and thirty-three steps, and from thence had a view of four counties, and a part of Coventry.

Adjacent to Warwick, but on the opposite side from the castle, is the "Priory," the seat of Christopher Wise, Esq.

At the time of my visit it was uninhabited, the owner having forsaken the old mansion for a residence in Somersetshire, in consequence of an unfortunate alliance in marriage.

This place has all the charms of rural scenery; fine groves, beautiful lawns, extensive gravel walks, a well cultivated garden, and here and there through the adjacent grounds, a majestic oak, the growth of

* Shakspeare drew his first breath at Stratford; about nine miles from Warwick, and was interred in the parish church there, in 1564. Of the birth-place of this great and original genius, I shall speak hereafter.

centuries, casting its dark shade over the green plats; but it had not the charms of society.

All was lonely, dull, and gloomy. Neither the lowing of the herd, the bleating of sheep, nor the barking of the watch dog, arrested the notice of the visiter, and aroused him from the reverie which such a place was calculated to produce.

The interesting objects of this rural spot produced a less pleasing effect on the mind, from the silence which here reigned triumphant, without the presence of animated nature.

One mile from Warwick, and immediately on the bank of the Avon, is Guy's Cliff house, so called from the steep bank on which the mansion is built, and because it was once the habitation of Guy, earl of Warwick. It is now the seat of Bertie Greathead, Esquire, and is about one hundred and fifty yards on the right of the road which leads to Coventry. How different this from the seat just described!

I was alone when I visited this place, and I had an agreeable walk, principally through meadows, before I entered the road to Coventry.

Guy's Cliff house is said to be the place whither he retired, and where he closed his life as a hermit, after he had defeated Colbrand.

A pit or cell about twelve feet deep, cut in the

rock on which the Gothic building stands, is shown as the place wherein he lived; and visitors are also shown a rude statue, in the ancient chapel, cut out of the rock, eight feet eleven inches in height, as being an exact representation of this renowned champion.*

Sir William Dugdale, in his antiquities of Warwickshire, asserts, that in Guy's cell the bones of St. Dubritius, the Saxon, were found. I am not disposed to scrutinize the truth of these legends, nor will I doubt their veracity. As no moral ill results from their being told, I will allow others to be gratified, as I was, at their recital.

* The celebrated combat between the English and the Danish giant, historians say, took place in the reign of Athelstan, near the city of Winchester. Though the tale is much enveloped in fable, yet the "ground work of the history," says Mr. Milner, "is founded on so many ancient records, and supported by innumerable traditions, as likewise by a great number of monuments still existing, or that existed until of late, that to reject it, favours of scepticism." Certain monuments aid the tradition on this subject. Thus it is recorded in the city of Winchester, that in the north wall of the city, there is a turret called Athelstan's chair, from which the king is said to have viewed the combat. There was also at one time a representation of the battle in stone, in the wall of the city; and at Guy's Cliff, "two statues were shown, one of a very tall man, the other of a little man, in the attitude of fighting." The axe which Colbrand used, was preserved for many years in the Cathedral.

The Avon at this spot is a deep sluggish stream, bordered on one side by fertile meadows, and on the other by steep banks. On one of the most abrupt of these, and almost on the verge of the precipice, stands the spacious and elegant Gothic mansion of Mr. Greathead. My visit to this romantic and delightful spot, was less to view its antiquities, or to inquire into the circumstances connected with the life of Guy, than to see the paintings of Mr. Greathead's son, who was represented to me as having attained a perfection in the art which had given him a very high celebrity, and rendered his death a national calamity. He died a few years since in Italy, in the twenty-third year of his age. Mr. Greathead is said to be one of the most accomplished men in Europe, uniting all the accomplishments of the gentleman, with the acquirements of the scholar. He had been the constant companion of his son in his travels, embracing every opportunity which Europe could furnish of improving his talents, and directing his taste to proper subjects; when death, that relentless tyrant, who mows down all without distinction, and summons with arbitrary will whomsoever he pleases, cut short the brilliant career of this extraordinary genius, and blasted for ever the flattering hopes of his parents and friends.

His paintings have passed the ordeal of criticism by the first masters; and they have been exhibited at Somerset-house in London, where they have been equally admired for their design and execution. His portraits are said to be inimitable likenesses; and he finished one of himself, not inferior to any other.

I recognized among many others, the strongly marked and expressive countenance of Bonaparte, which he had taken from the original in Paris.

For a copy of an historical piece, taken from one in the Louvre, he had been offered five hundred guineas.

In a country where genius is so much fostered, and the arts meet with so liberal a patronage, how great is the loss of such a man! If such were the productions of so juvenile an artist, what was not to be expected from his pencil at maturer years, when his taste had been improved, his judgment strengthened, and his mind more richly and amply stored?

The valuable library of Mr. Greathead occupies a distinct and spacious apartment; it is filled with several thousand volumes, and a number of natural and artificial curiosities.

After I had visited most of the apartments, and while some other visitors were doing the same, I remained in the library.

The furniture is suited to the mansion, and evinced the fine taste of the proprietor.

In the entrance hall my attention was arrested by a number of statues in plaster of Paris, but more particularly by one of the Venus de Medici; a few marble busts of exquisite sculpture, also demanded and attracted my notice.

The grounds attached to this princely abode, are disposed in an appropriate style. After spending a few hours at this sequestered, beautiful, and highly cultivated spot, the present abode of science and of taste, and in former days the retreat and burial-place of a renowned champion, I returned to Warwick most highly gratified.

LETTER XXI.

Leave Warwick—Kenilworth Ruins—Coventry—Peeping Tom—Arrive in London.

ON the twenty-fourth of August I left Warwick, and I left it with regret, because, as contrasted with Birmingham, it has the quiet of a village, with the elegance of a city. During my short stay my mind was relaxed from the perplexities and tumult of business, and I had found in the agreeable family of Mr. Parks all the charms of social and genteel life.

This gentleman, as I have already observed, is the proprietor of a large factory of worsted. He enjoys all the happiness which is to be derived from an amiable family, the possession of all the comforts to be purchased by wealth, and the estimation of his fellow citizens.

A letter of introduction which I had to Mr. Parks, procured me a most hospitable reception in his house, and while it induced me to prolong my stay in Warwick, it was made more agreeable. Such

liberal hospitality, such unaffected kindness, I have found in almost every family to which I have been introduced, and it stamps an excellence upon the character of the people.

The road to Coventry is wide, firm, and smooth. Four miles from this town, and on the left from Warwick, at the small village of Kenilworth, are the ruins of a castle and its appendages, which for extent, and the evidence of former grandeur, have no equal in England. No traveller should pass these remains of ancient magnificence and power, without stopping to view them; yet, like a thousand other travellers, I rolled along in the coach almost regardless of the interest which they should have excited. They produced, however, an anxiety to examine them more closely, which I afterwards indulged, and shall hereafter speak of.

The ruins of this castle cover several acres; and, with the manor and parks, the circuit is altogether about twenty miles. The earl of Clarendon is now the proprietor of these domains.

The stately building (of which the crumbling walls are now the only remains of the splendour it once possessed) was built in the reign of Henry II. by Geoffroy de-Clinton, chamberlain and treasurer to Henry I. It was principally demolished during

the commotions in the civil wars which devastated so much of this portion of the kingdom, and brought so many to the scaffold.

The tall spires of Coventry soon made their appearance, for they are visible at the distance of many miles. This place is also in Warwickshire. It is badly built, the streets being narrow and dirty; and the houses, like those in Shrewsbury, generally in the style of "other days," do not present to the eyes of a stranger an interesting appearance, or an evidence of modern taste.

With Lichfield, it is the see of a bishop; it is governed by a mayor, aldermen, and other officers, and it sends two members to parliament.

It contains about twenty-six thousand inhabitants, most of whom are engaged in the manufacture of ribbands, gauzes, and watches, but principally the former. Most of the ribbands, however, which are sent from Coventry, are made in the neighbourhood, and prepared here for exportation.

As soon as I had dined, I strolled through the irregular and confined streets of this ancient place, but observed few objects to arrest my attention, except such as merited it from mere antiquity. Before I left the inn where the coach had stopped, I did not forget to make inquiry for "Peeping Tom,"

whose curious tale has been transmitted from father to son, for a long succession of ages, and has often amused me in the days of my childhood. I was told to look at the upper window of a house a little above the court of the inn, and here I beheld the representation of this ill-starred wight, cut in wood, his head and shoulders projecting from a window, with a cocked hat on.

His story is shortly this: About the middle of the eleventh century, Leofric, earl of Mercia, who rebuilt a celebrated convent which the Danes had destroyed about the year 1016, became lord of Coventry; and for some provocation which he had received from the inhabitants, he imposed on them most exorbitant taxes as a punishment. They vainly petitioned the haughty lord to remove their grievances, but tyrants are always obstinate as they are cruel. His wife Godiva, interceded for the people, and besought the imperious lord to remove their distresses, which he at last consented to do, under a condition, which he did not believe would be complied with; this was, that she would ride through the town naked. She consented to do so, and performed her engagement, after having, on pain of death, enjoined the inhabitants not to look out as she passed. All obeyed the injunction, except a poor

tailor, who, not being able to restrain his curiosity, and venturing to give a single glance at the naked beauty as she passed, was instantly struck blind. Having fulfilled the hard condition, she claimed the reward, which was immediately granted by his giving the city a charter, exempting it from all tolls. In one of the churches there formerly was a picture of Leofric and Godiva, with this inscription commemorative of the event:

“ I, Leofric, for love of thee,
Do make Coventry toll free.”

Formerly an annual procession was formed to perpetuate this circumstance; but now, it takes place only once in seven years. A female, who personifies Godiva, is mounted on a horse in a vesture exactly fitted to her body, and of a flesh colour. She is preceded and followed by a numerous body of citizens, with public officers bearing flags with appropriate devices. The principal person in this strange cavalcade is generally some young woman from Birmingham, who has little regard for decency and character, and for a trifling compensation agrees to become the distinguished personage.

Coventry was formerly of much more note than it is at the present period, and part of the walls

which once encompassed it are still remaining. At one time it contained some magnificent public buildings, but most of them have yielded to that power which conquers all things. The Cross, which was once its pride and its boast, has been demolished from its being in a state of ruin, and nothing remains to point out the spot, save a single stone. St. Mary's Hall, where the mayor and aldermen assemble, is an ancient building, containing some beautiful paintings, and a very fine piece of tapestry.

Henry VIII., who was arbitrary and capricious, and who put down all the monasteries after he had renounced the papal authority, in the further gratification of his revenge, destroyed the cathedral which once adorned this city. There is now remaining of places dedicated to solemn worship, three large parish churches in one cemetery.

From a certain part of the town where I viewed these buildings, the spires of each ranged so exactly, that they appeared as one. That of St. Michael's is one hundred and three feet in height, and was pronounced by sir Christopher Wren to be a master-piece of architecture. It did not appear to me, however, to be uncommonly beautiful, or, except from its height, to possess any thing peculiarly attractive; but I will not dare to oppose my opinion

to that of the first architect of his age. No one was more qualified to judge correctly of the rules and just proportions of that art for which he was so deservedly famed, and for which a grateful country has placed his remains in the cathedral of St. Paul, which was commenced and finished by him.*

There being no regular coach from Birmingham to Coventry, by Warwick, I would advise those who have a desire to visit the interesting objects in the neighbourhood of the latter place, to go from thence to Coventry, where they will meet the regular line of mail and accommodation coaches for London. The distance is but nine miles, the road equal perhaps to any in the kingdom, and the scenery on either side equally fitted to please and to interest. The grand ruins of Kenilworth are about mid-way, two hundred yards from the road side, on the left, rearing its lofty and naked walls to the sight, silently inviting the traveller to stop and view what is left of its former grandeur, and to

* It is worthy of note that this magnificent building, which (with the exception of some decorations) was thirty-five years in being completed, was built by one architect, already named; one mason, Mr. Strong; and during this period, one clergyman, Dr. Henry Compton, filled the see. St. Peter's at Rome, the model of St. Paul's, was one hundred and thirty-five years in building.

make him reflect on the wretched state of society which forced the erection of such places of strength and warfare.

My business was speedily effected in Coventry, where I remained but one night, and having engaged a seat in the coach for London, I departed about six o'clock, *p. m.* The evening was mild and serene; and, that I might have a view of the country, I took an outside seat, until darkness obscured every object, when I changed it for the inside. I was whirled rapidly along a fine road, through Dunchurch, Daventry, Towcester, Little Brickchell, Dunstable, (famed for its bonnets,) St. Albans and Barnet, until a little after the awakening dawn, I was brought within view of London; having rode ninety miles.

Though situated on elevated ground, the clouds of dark smoke which always hover over this immense metropolis, and give to every object a sombre hue, prevent a satisfactory view at a distance, and present a confused mass of buildings without seeming order or regularity. Numerous spires rear their tall points above all the dwellings, declaring the magnitude of the place; and yet more elevated, the vast dome of St. Paul's is seen in majestic grandeur.

I passed through the village of Newington, on the south side of the Thames; and after the coach had rattled over a rough pavement, and passed through half a dozen or more streets, it placed me in the yard of the Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate street, amidst a crowd of wagons, and no small portion of filth.

LETTER XXII.

London—First Reflections—General appearance of the City—Contrast between the East and West Ends—Directions for Strangers—St. Paul's Cathedral—Want of Interior Decorations—Library—Geometrical Stair Case—Whispering Gallery—View from the Balcony—Ascent to the Ball.

THOSE who have viewed society in very detached portions, who have passed their time in villages and small towns, who have even seen the most populous of our American cities, or who have fancied the magnitude of London; will, upon an actual survey, soon be convinced, that any ideas they may have formed of it, will be far short of the reality.

Peculiar feelings took possession of my mind on my first arrival. Placed amidst a population of nearly a million of people, to all of whom I was a stranger, I seemed a solitary being, though in the midst of an incessant bustle.

I had neglected to inquire at what house, or in what part of the town to take lodgings; and therefore

was compelled to remain, at least for some days, at the inn where the coach had put me down. This, though pretty well kept, has not many of the comforts and none of the elegancies of which other inns and coffee-houses boast; and it is situated in a narrow and dark street. It is particularly intended for travellers, or those who remain generally but a few days, and the court is always crowded with wagons for the transportation of goods; so that it has not the comfort and the cleanliness which are so generally characteristic of the private and public dwellings of the English.

An anxious desire to see something of this eighth wonder of the world, soon hurried me out; and being without a guide, I speedily became bewildered amidst such a labyrinth of streets, lanes, and alleys.

With a little inquiry I found myself at the corner of Chiswell street and Finsbury square, the residence of Messieurs Reckards, carpet manufacturers, to whom I had a letter of introduction.

Mr. Robert Reckard accompanied me to Hoxton Academy, a seminary for the education of indigent young men, who are designed for the pulpit. It is situated almost at one of the extremities of London.

Mr. **** of Savannah, had, however, been ad-

mitted as a student, but had left it a few weeks before. I was told a gentleman, who was supposed to be from the United States, had been inquiring for my friend a short time before; and from a description of his person conjectured it to be Dr. *****, who had sailed for Gottenburgh, before I left Savannah. I had not heard of his arrival in England, though I knew he intended to visit it. Taking a hackney coach, and with the aid of a directory, I found his residence to be in New Bond street buildings, near Moor Fields. I need not say how much I was gratified to meet a friend and countryman amidst the *wilderness* of London.

The immense lines of brick walls, extending in all directions, and the number of large villages included in the bills of mortality, and which are considered as appendages to the metropolis, form altogether an aggregate, which seems to have neither boundaries, form, nor regulations.

In this huge assemblage of houses, there is as little beauty as symmetry; and perhaps the *tout ensemble* of London, has less of the former than any other metropolis of the world.

The city, properly so called, or the eastern part of the capital, is principally composed of old buildings, black, ugly and ruinous. The streets along

the banks of the Thames, are narrow, dark and dirty; being the chief residence of seamen, of persons engaged among the shipping, and of Jews, of whom there are a great number.

Progressing towards the western end of the town, a different scene is presented. Here the houses are built with more neatness, taste, and uniformity; the streets are more straight, clean, well paved, and well lighted; and there is less of the bustle and confusion of business. Quiet reigns at the court end of the town, at the same moment that every thing is in motion east of Temple Bar. In the city the shops are open by eight o'clock; the streets are all alive; the coaches and carts are moving in all directions; and every one is pursuing his avocation: but in the *region of fashion*, the servants are scarcely awake at the same hour; there is no throng in the streets, nor is the sound of coach wheels heard. The contrast is continued to the mode of living, dress, occupations, and amusements. Considerable jealousy exists between the people of the east and west ends of London; and while the latter charge their neighbours with an undue fondness for wealth, and as a dull, plodding race; they recriminate on their more fashionable brethren, by saying they are idle, luxu-

rious, and effeminate. There is considerable truth in the accusations of both.

The shops of Westminster present, in general, much more splendour than those in the other end of the capital; and the interior of the dwellings in the former, exhibit more taste, luxury, and magnificence.

It would be equally useless and vain were I to attempt a description of London; the history of which, with its topography, trade, arts, sciences, manufactures, amusements, curiosities, manners and customs, would fill many volumes, and employ many years. A life of no ordinary duration would, indeed, be totally insufficient to obtain a correct knowledge of this huge, mis-shapen, and overgrown place.

Strangers should, on their first arrival, provide themselves with a pocket map of the city, which may be had at almost any of the stationary and print shops. With this guide, an attention to the course of the principal streets, as Cheapside, Ludgate Hill, Fleet street, Strand, Charing Cross, Piccadilly, Holborn; with a notice of the situation and bearing of some of the public edifices, they will seldom fail to find their way with tolerable ease in a few days. They should studiously avoid making any inquiry of passengers in the streets, for it is not

only as twenty to one that the question will be asked of one who is a stranger like themselves; but in the hurry and bustle of a crowd it is unpleasant and unsafe to be stopped.

The shop-keepers are polite and civil, and always cheerfully give every information in their power, in a manner which seems characteristic of Englishmen, evincing a pleasure to oblige.

One of the first objects which will attract the notice of a stranger is St. Paul's cathedral. The splendid description given of it by travellers, induces us to seek for it; and its elevated dome, seen at a great distance, and from almost every part of the city, will lead to the spot. Towering far above neighbouring objects, it catches the eye, and impresses the mind with the vastness of a fabric which supports such a superstructure. Yet was I deceived in the elevation of it, from the immense base of the body of the building; and I passed it a second and a third time before I stopped to view it. I almost doubted the accounts of travellers. I saw an immense mass of stone, with beautiful marble pillars, having Corinthian capitals, and a huge dome rising from the centre. In the height of this, however, as also in that of the steeple to the top of the cross, I was deceived. If, however, the eyes are

permitted to glance at surrounding objects, and a comparison be made of the height of the adjacent houses, together with that of the neighbouring spires, all doubts will vanish, and the beholder will be satisfied that the steeple of St. Paul's is much more lofty than any other in London.

Few strangers visit the metropolis without entering the cathedral, to view its interior beauty and decorations. With a friend who resided in London, I made an early visit to this noble pile, and we ascended to the ball, a height of three hundred and seventy-four feet.

The first impressions which were made on my mind, were not of that peculiar nature which were produced on entering the metropolitical church of York, whose lengthened aisle of five hundred and twenty-five feet, and slender towering pillars, supporting at such a height the fretted roof, produced sensations equally novel, pleasurable, and awful.

The pavement of the body of the church, as you enter, will arrest your attention; it is of black and white marble slabs, alternately placed, as far as the altar. Around the communion table the floor is of marble, mixed with porphyry. On entering the church, I say, the beholder will be struck with its

magnitude, and looking upwards to the dome, will almost be tempted to exclaim with the American savage, "did man make it?" He will, at the same time, discover a nakedness of the vast interior, which is almost without statues, paintings, altar, or any other decoration. So small a portion of this edifice is dedicated to worship, and so much of it remains unfilled, that a stranger might be induced to ask, for what it was intended? Of late, however, government seem to have noticed the dolorous nakedness of the walls, and have ordered statues to be erected to men distinguished for their valour, or their virtues. Of these they will, I fear, vote too many, and they make the honour too common. In this way they will soon fill the church as they have Westminster Abbey, and the statues of many men will be there placed, unknown in history, or perhaps mentioned in such a way as scarcely to be recollected by the writer or the reader.

I could mention the names of hundreds who merit a distinguished place in this great national building, who seem to have been forgotten by the government. Thus, who more deserve a monument than Arkwright, Brindsley, and Watt, men who have enriched the nation and immortalized themselves, by the successful application of genius to the arts?

The former especially may be said to have laid the foundation for the present national wealth and unrivalled excellence, in the manufacture of cotton; and he reared for himself a monument of glory.

Bruce, Cook, and Park, who have braved every danger in unknown, trackless, and inhospitable climes; Jenner, who has disarmed death of one of his most powerful weapons; and a host of others, distinguished for their public labours and their talents, should receive, while they would confer honour on the nation, by the erection of, suitable monuments.

A few there are which will command notice, especially those of captains Burgess, Faulkner, Westcott, and general Dundas; those of the champion of literature, Samuel Johnson, the indefatigable inquirer into Asiatic history, sir William Jones, and that of the revered philanthropist, Howard, will call your attention to admire their beauties. But the few that have been erected are almost lost in the immense space, and they naturally excite a wish in the beholder for more. They would be much more appropriate decorations than the tattered and dusty flags which are suspended in this part of the church as ornaments. A place of worship is not fit for the emblems of war. These should be placed in a legis-

lative hall, a war or naval office, an hospital for seamen or soldiers, or a palace. I was both surprised and disgusted to behold this part of the building thus disfigured with the trophies of successful valour: Some of them were taken during the war with America, but methinks England should rather hide the disgrace which she acquired in this conflict. The commencement and prosecution of the contest was as dishonourable and inglorious to this power, as it was honourable and successful to my own country. Others were taken by the duke of York at Valenciennes, and the remainder by different British commanders.

After leaving the grand aisle of the church, you will be conducted to the library, which is less remarkable for the number of books it contains, than for the antiquity of many of them, and for its curious inlaid floor of oak, similar to the bed of a billiard table. A little way from this you will be led to the geometrical stair-case, consisting of ninety steps, and said to be the most perfect of its kind in the kingdom. After viewing these, and stopping for a few minutes at the first gallery to look at the pavement in the aisles of the church, you will be conducted to the whispering gallery, which is one hundred and forty yards in circumference. The most

remarkable circumstance attending this circular room is, that the slightest whisper from a person applying his mouth to the wall, is distinctly heard round half the circumference. Any loud noise, such as shutting the door with considerable force, produces a sound like distant thunder, or the roaring of a cannon. This is just below the dome, and from this spot the marble pavement below, and the paintings in the inside of the former, by sir James Thornhill, will be viewed with most advantage. The ingenious artist has taken the principal passages in St. Paul's life, as the subjects of his pencil. The paintings have suffered from time.

The exterior of the building impressed me with its size, but former impressions vanished as I paced its long galleries, and mounted successive flights of steps. At first I felt some insecurity in ascending wooden stair-cases and stages, and surveyed the chasm below me, and the seeming danger was occasionally heightened by the dim light which was emitted through the dome. I had ascended Guy's Tower at Warwick, and the still more lofty one of the cathedral at York, but in both these there is nothing to give the *appearance* of danger, though from the constant winding the limbs ache, and the head is made giddy.

Leaving the whispering gallery, there is little worthy of being seen, until you get to the balcony surrounding the great dome, from which, as it is circular, you have an extensive view of the vast city below you. The smoke which hangs over the dwellings, particularly when the atmosphere is damp, impedes the sight considerably, and renders the prospect less extensive and less distinct. From this spot I counted sixty-five steeples.

Placed so far above the busy haunts of life, men, carriages, and horses seem lessened to half their size; and while I was beholding the vast crowds that were continually hurrying past each other in all directions, many and various reflections rushed upon my mind. From this small spot I could at once see the splendour of affluence rolling along in gilded chariots, or fancy it in palaces which towered above the habitations of the humble cit; and the wretchedness of others, who knew not on rising from their lowly beds, how the necessary wants of the day were to be provided for, even to satisfy the hungry cravings of half famished children.

The city of London lay below my feet, and the numerous streets of this populous place appeared but of half their real width. Indeed the prospect from every part of this elevation is very singular.

Every thing has a mimic appearance. The houses, carriages, and people look as if they were viewed through a camera obscura. The spectator, elevated so far above the bustle of the crowd below, assumes, for the moment, an imaginary dignity, and with unusual consequence asks of himself, "about what are those little consequential animals so eagerly engaged?"

On a clear day, the metropolis and the surrounding country is most distinctly seen from this spot. The labour and fatigue of climbing to such a height is amply repaid, by the vastness or sublimity of the view; for surely that must be called sublime which embraces such an extent and such a variety of objects. It was on such a day that, after ascending five hundred and thirty-four steps, I embraced in the view a mass of wealth and population, on both sides of the Thames, which can scarcely be conceived. London lay like a map before me. The imagination was completely occupied by an incredible mass of buildings, to which there seemed to be no boundaries. On one side was Westminster Abbey, with Westminster Hall; on the other the Monument, a tall column, erected to perpetuate a most distressing calamity, and now threatening destruction to the neighbouring dwellings; a little farther off was the

Tower with its appendant buildings; while above and below was seen the Thames with its forest of masts. Yet more distant lay Hempsted and Highgate, on elevated ground; and on the south were the Surry Hills.

In every direction were extensive lines of houses, which the eyes could scarcely follow, and which rendered it impossible to define the exact limits of the city. They presented a dull and gloomy picture of dark-coloured brick walls, which was occasionally relieved by a small spot of green towards the boundaries of the prospect. I had seen a panorama of London, but the reality bore no resemblance to such a bird's-eye view, or miniature resemblance. The imagination becomes bewildered at beholding this little world, with its swarms of animated beings, and the sight is confused from the number and diversity of the objects which it is forced to embrace. Contemplating on the luxury and magnificence, on the penury and distress, in the scene before me, I could not avoid exclaiming in the language of an elegant writer and amiable man, "it was a sight which awed me and made me melancholy. I was looking down upon the habitations of a million of human beings; upon the single spot whereon were crowded together more wealth, more

splendour, more ingenuity, more worldly wisdom, and, alas! more worldly blindness, poverty, depravity, dishonesty, and wretchedness, than upon any other spot in the whole habitable earth."

After I had sufficiently gratified my sight from this spot, I ascended by several ladders to the ball, into which I got with some difficulty, and sat for several minutes. If objects appear diminutive from the gallery of the dome, they would seem yet more so from this very elevated spot; but there is no opening from which a view can be had of any part of the city.

The number of steps from the pavement of the cathedral to the ball is six hundred and sixteen. The diameter of the ball is six feet, and it weighs five thousand six hundred pounds.

Viewed from any of the adjacent streets, it does not seem to be larger than a common drum, were it circular; and it appears to be but a few feet from the cross, though the distance is actually thirty feet.

Visitors to this stupendous building are told, that for three shillings they will be permitted to ascend to the ball; yet the expense is not less than five, as each individual who shows the different parts expects a distinct gratuity. Thus, the man who shows the whispering gallery, he who conducts you to the

library, the third who accompanies you to the clock and great bell, and the fourth, who leads you to the ball, expect a separate compensation. This apparent system of extortion, if it does not pervade all ranks, at least exists in all places where any thing is to be exhibited to gratify curiosity.

LETTER XXIII.

London—Visit to Richmond Hill—New Park—Walk to Twickenham—Seat of the Earl of Orford—James Thomson—His Description of the View from Richmond Hill.

I ACCEPTED the offer to join an agreeable party to make a visit to Richmond Hill; and shall therefore for a while leave the smoke of the metropolis, with its eternal din and confusion.

We took a boat at Black Friar's bridge, and in a few hours we were landed on the green below the hill. The distance by water is about eighteen miles, but by land not more than nine. To avoid imposition or an exorbitant charge, it will be best for those who visit Richmond this way, to make a bargain with the boatmen before setting off. The expense for three persons was twelve shillings.

The morning was overcast, and the appearance of the clouds threatened rain; but we had not advanced many miles before the clouds were dispersed, and the sun shone in full splendour. The course of the Thames was serpentine, and on either bank the

scenery was beautiful. Art and taste seem to have combined their utmost skill in giving effect to the softer beauties of the landscape.

Almost innumerable boats of light and elegant workmanship covered the bosom of the river; while above and below Richmond, and on both sides of the river, as well as on the small islands, groups of men and women were collected under fine spreading oaks, where they partook of refreshments which they had brought with them. The sight was equally new and pleasing.

We procured a room with some difficulty at the Star and Garter Inn, where we partook of an excellent dinner.

Richmond itself is a neat and well-built village, situated on the declivity of a hill, rising abruptly from the river, and commanding a variety of prospect, which for richness and beauty has scarcely an equal.

This place received its present name from Henry VII.; and from a district in Yorkshire, of which he was earl. Other monarchs held their court here; as Edward I. and II. Edward III. Henry VII.; and queen Elizabeth died here. The beautiful and extensive gardens in the vicinity, the property of the royal family, are open to visitors in the summer season.

Being the residence of many wealthy and distinguished families, it is flourishing; and perhaps no spot within the same distance of the metropolis combines so much to entice the inhabitants of it to indulge in the pleasures of rural scenery and rural life.

Near the village is the New Park, in Surrey, so called, made in the time of Charles I.; now belonging to the reigning monarch: it is in circumference about eleven miles, and is encompassed by a brick wall.

Immediately on the bank of the Thames there is a fine seat of the effeminate and luxurious duke of Queensbury; and it occupies part of the site of the old palace of Sheen, some parts of which are still remaining, and held as the residence of private families. The houses of the duke of Buccleugh and lady Diana Beauclerk, are very attractive.

After we had dined, we crossed the Thames by a noble stone bridge of five arches, and walked through meadows which skirt the river, as far as Twickenham.

My readers need not be told that this was once the residence of Alexander Pope, whose favourite grotto still remains; but there is little else of the buildings left, in which this celebrated poet dwelt.

The elegant villas in this neighbourhood will deservedly attract the notice of all travellers. Genius, rank, and learning have so often dwelt here, that its bowers may be almost considered as academic, and its walks as being devoted to the sciences, muses, taste, and elegance.

It was at Twickenham that he who has been stiled the father of experimental philosophy, Francis Bacon, baron of Verulam, spent a considerable portion of the early part of his life in the pursuit of studies, which have given an immortality to his genius and learning. It has, at different periods, been the favourite abode of men distinguished for learning, and character; and some of the choicest works of genius have originated within the limits of Twickenham's bowers. Amidst the beautiful retreats of this favourite spot, the rural and quiet abodes of statesmen and literati, that of the late earl of Orford is distinguished for the number, variety, and elegance of its embellishments.

The Thames is here very narrow: we crossed it in a small boat; and passed through verdant fields to Richmond Hill, (properly so called,) from which there opens to the view a scene of unrivalled splendour.

Villages, green fields, meadows, extensive groves,

broad spreading oaks, villas, spires, and distant hills, all occupy the sight at once; and combine to form a picture which a Poussin would have delighted to delineate; but even his pencil would have failed to do justice to it.

The picturesque beauties of nature have formed an union with art in the completion of a landscape, of which I have no where seen its equal; one on which the eye delights to dwell and the mind to feast. The charms of this delightful spot have been celebrated by poets, nor have their vivid imaginations "run riot" in their descriptions. Here, at a house in Kew-Foot lane, lived James Thomson: here he wrote his Seasons; and it was to this place he alludes in his Spring, when he says:—

Say, shall we ascend
Thy hill, delightful Sheen? Here let us sweep
The boundless landscape: now the raptured eye,
Exulting swift, to huge Augusta send;
Now to the sister hills that skirt her plain,
To lofty Harrow now, and now to where
Majestic Windsor lifts his princely brow.
In lovely contrast to this glorious view,
Calmly magnificent, then will we turn
To where the silver Thames first rural grows.
There let the feasted eye unwearied stray:
Luxurious, there, rove through the pendent woods,
That nodding hang o'er Harrington's retreat;
And sloping thence to Ham's embowering walks,

Here let us trace the matchless vale of Thames,
Fair-winding up to where the muses haunt
In Twitnam's bowers; to royal Hampton's pile,
To Claremont's terraced height, and Esher's groves,
By the soft windings of the silent Mole.
Enchanting vale! beyond whate'er the muse
Has of Achaia or Hesperia sung!
O vale of bliss! O softly swelling hills!
On which the power of cultivation lies,
And joys to see the wonder of his toil.
Heav'ns! what a goodly prospect spreads around,
Of hills, and dales, and wood, and lawns, and spires,;
And glittering towns, and gilded streams, till all
The stretching landscape into smoke decays.*

The last rays of the setting sun shed a mild lustre over the verdant hills and meadows; and the approach of night admonished us to depart. From Richmond we walked through Kew Park, and crossing the Thames, we took seats about the close of day, in a coach for London.

* This illustrious bard, who has equally immortalized Richmond and himself, has his remains interred at the west end of the north aisle of Richmond church. No stranger should neglect to visit the house which Thomson once adorned. In the garden his favourite seat yet remains, as also the table on which he was wont to write. He died in 1748.

LETTER XXIV.

London—Kew Gardens—Carleton House—Mr. Pearson—Dr. Jones—Eau Medicinale—Literary Men—Martha Osborn—Greenwich Hospital, and description of it—Antiquity of the Village of Greenwich—Black Heath—Return to London.

THE late hour we passed through Kew Park, prevented a visit to the gardens; which are said to be laid out in the first style, and decorated with a number of picturesque objects, principally by sir William Chambers.

For extent, beauty, and variety, and for the magnitude of the collection, perhaps it has not its equal in the world, except it be the Jardin des Plants in Paris.

Kew House, now an occasional residence of the king, was once the property of Samuel Molineux, secretary to George II.

The old palace is small, and that which has been lately built in the Gothic style, has not much the appearance of one. With the garden, it forms an interesting object for strangers.

The hackney coach in which I had taken a seat at Kew bridge, placed me down in Piccadilly, which may be enumerated among the handsomest streets of the metropolis. I passed by Carleton House, the residence of the prince of Wales, and sufficiently magnificent for the heir apparent. After a long walk, I reached my lodgings without molestation, at a pretty late hour.

A letter of introduction from Mr. Hey, of Leeds, to Mr. Pearson, of Golden Square, lately a lecturer in St. Bartholomew's hospital, furnished me with an opportunity of becoming acquainted with this distinguished surgeon. At my second visit, among other matters which became the subject of conversation, he informed me that the practice first adopted by Mr. Hume, of removing strictures in the urethra by caustic, was losing its reputation, from the many instances which had occurred of its melancholy and dangerous effects, particularly in the production of abscesses, and fistulæ in perinæo. Mr. Pearson observed, that he never made use of it, and that he had rarely seen a case of stricture, which would not yield to the proper application of the common or metallic bougie. He doubted whether surgery had been much improved since the days of Ambrose Paré; and he unequivocally declared it as his opinion,

that the celebrated Scarpa was the best surgeon in Europe, both as an operator, and his knowledge of surgery as a science.

Mr. Pearson expressed a high opinion of the talents of my countryman, Dr. Philip S. Physic, of Philadelphia.

During my stay in Leeds, I had perused a small work which had just been published, on the effects of the Eau Medicinale de Husson, by Edward Godden Jones, M.D. of London. This medicine, having been found to possess singular and very active properties in the cure of the gout, had obtained a very high character. The style of the publication, with the apparent candour and modesty with which the author expresses his opinions, and the number of cases he has enumerated of its success, were sufficient to produce a confidence in the work and the medicine itself. Without the aid and formality of an introductory letter, I waited on Dr. Jones, at his residence in Piccadilly. The object of my visit was to obtain more correct information of this surprising remedy. He declared, that from the best information he had procured, the success of the Eau Medicinale was almost universal. He had never known a single case of regular or pure idiopathic gout, which had not been much relieved or entirely cured by it. Dr.

Jones had no knowledge of its composition, nor was it known to any but the proprietor, Mr. Chardron, of Paris. In speaking of the Eau Medicinale with Mr. Pearson, he observed that the effects produced by it in the gout were singularly successful; and he confessed he was equally unable to ascertain its composition, or to explain its *modus operandi*.

The reputation this medicine obtained in England as well as on the continent, produced a correspondent demand and sale. On applying to the *only* agent for the proprietor, and who resided in St. James' street, he informed me that little more than three months before he had received nearly eleven thousand vials of it, and that he had not more than fifty remaining.*

* Unfriendly and opposed as I always was to the administration of arcana or nostrums, while I was engaged in the practice of medicine, the strong evidence of the active properties of the Eau Medicinale, induced me to hazard a trial of it; and I therefore took the first opportunity of giving it to a person, who for more than twenty years had been afflicted with the gout. A single bottle, containing three tea-spoonsful, given at two doses on two successive evenings, entirely removed a most violent attack in three days. Other cases have come within my notice of similar success. Several communications from correspondents in England, have stated that this powerful remedy continued to support its credit. Various have been the conjectures on the composition of this medicine, all of which are perhaps equally remote from the truth.

It will be in place here to notice the remark made by an American on the politeness and affability of literary men in England; and truth compels me to concur with him on its correctness. My pursuits were different from those which led Mr. Silliman to the houses and clubs of the literati, and which introduced him to some of the most distinguished men in the circle of science; but accident in some cases, and business in others, has made me acquainted with a few who are well known to the world of letters; and in no instance has any circumstance occurred, to alter my opinion on the subject.

Martha Osborn must not be forgotten, although in prison. It afforded me sincere gratification to receive a communication from a friend in Birmingham, soon after my arrival in London, accompanied

The following recipe has been made public in England, which a correspondent in Leeds has communicated to me since my return, and which is worthy of attention.

Take of the Tincture of White Hellebore, one drachm,
Vinous Tincture of Opium, half a drachm. Mix.

Those who are desirous of more particular information on this subject, are referred to the intelligent and modest work of Dr. Jones. He was liberal in his communications to me, and his behaviour strengthened the favourable sentiments I had entertained of the politeness and affability of Englishmen, in the higher walks of life.

with several certificates of respectable persons, of her general good character.

With the certificates was a letter from Martha Osborn to her sister in Birmingham, written a few days before her trial, expressed in most penitent language for the crime she had committed, and expressive of unfeigned sorrow for the disgrace she was about to bring on the memories of her deceased parents, and a brother and sister who lived in Birmingham.

I immediately waited on Mr. Rough, at his house, No. 24, Bedford Row; who, with an alacrity which confirmed my opinion of his humanity, accompanied me to the house of Baron Grose, the judge who presided on the trial of Martha Osborn. Perhaps it was fortunate for the poor girl that he was not at home, for he had that day left London to join his family at the Isle of Wight. Disappointed in seeing the venerable judge, I gave all the papers to Mr. Rough, who next day waited on Mr. Secretary Ryder. The result of the conference was, that all the papers relative to the case of the unfortunate victim to stern justice, with such remarks as I should think proper to make, should be sent to the judge. On receiving this information, I dispatched the packet by mail. The issue will be hereafter detailed.

I spent a most agreeable day with Mr. Thomas Kinder, of the house of John and Thomas Kinder, of London. I joined him at his office near the Royal Exchange, and had a most delightful walk over green fields, on the bank of the New River, to his house at Newington. With a charming family I spent a most agreeable day, and in the evening I returned to the city.

Mr. Kinder is a near relative of Dr. Aiken, so well known in the world of letters; who, with his sister, Mrs. Barbauld, resided next door. Their absence deprived me of the pleasure of an introduction to them.

London became familiar to me in a few days; and I was able to transact business in the various parts of this intricate and immense place, without much difficulty, though not without great labour. The determination I had fixed of effecting the primary object of my visit to England, with little aid from others, I did not relinquish in this capital; and besides the saving of expense, it afforded me an opportunity of sooner becoming acquainted with all the intricacies of the place, and acquiring information of most essential importance.

By a little attention and observation, I was soon taught to make my way from place to place, and to

find out the nearest course by narrow courts, lanes and alleys.

Among the various and interesting objects in the vicinity of London, which will command the notice of the traveller, is Greenwich Hospital, on the bank of the Thames, six miles below the city. With an American friend I made a visit to it. At an early hour we took a boat at the Tower, and passing through a forest of shipping, we arrived in time to partake of an excellent breakfast at the village. The hospital presents a noble front as you approach it by water. It is but a few rods from the bank of the river. Here it stands proudly pre-eminent for beauty, size, and grandeur. No painting or engraving I have seen, conveys to the mind any adequate idea of this noble structure. To form any just conception of it, it must be seen, and when seen it must afford pleasure; for what can be more gratifying than to behold a building which will bear a comparison with any other of the kind in the world, or which is indeed superior; erected by the munificence of the government, for the accommodation and residence of men who have become old, infirm, and disabled in the service of their country? Those who have thus grown old, and whose poverty has increased with their years, are not made dependants on the com-

munity for a scanty pittance, obliged to assume the wretched state of wanderers, or compelled to gain a miserable support by begging from door to door. Here an asylum is secured for their declining years; and here every thing is provided that is necessary for their comfort, and to make them pass the remnant of their days in quiet and happiness. This is, indeed, but national gratitude, and a just reward for the useful services of men in their country's cause.

In visiting this structure, the first object which commands the attention is the form, extent, and architecture of the whole exterior front, which looks towards the Thames. It consists of four grand buildings, which form an entire and most beautiful plan, especially when viewed from the river. The two buildings which are next to the river are separated by a terrace eight hundred and sixty-five feet in length, having a grand area between them, two hundred and seventy-three feet wide. In the centre is a statue of George II. The southern portions of this grand edifice are separated by a square one hundred and fifteen feet wide. Sir Christopher Wren designed the latter, and the former are from the best designs of Inigo Jones. A rich variety is presented by a front view of the building, and be-

ing built of Portland stone, its beauty is thereby very considerably heightened.

Beyond the buildings, in the rear, is Greenwich Park, and here, on the summit of a hill, is the Observatory.

The visiter will immediately observe one very important advantage which arises from the tasteful arrangements of the buildings which form Greenwich Hospital. Being open on every side, it is well ventilated.

After having admired the exterior of the hospital, you will pass into the building on the west of the area, which is called King William's. Under the roof of this is the great hall, or as it is usually called, the Painted Hall, into which you enter by a very fine vestibule, receiving light from the dome of the building.

Ascending a large flight of steps, you enter the saloon or grand hall, where a variety of interesting objects will immediately arrest the attention. The excellent proportions of this room will be noticed as a very prominent beauty; it is one hundred and six feet long, thirty-six feet wide, and fifty feet high. On either side is a range of Corinthian pilasters, resting on a basement, and supporting a highly embellished entablature. On the north side of the

room, opposite to the windows, are recesses, in which are painted allegorical figures of Hospitalitas, Magnanimitas, Liberalitas, Misericordia, Generositas, Bonitas, Benignitas, Humanitas. The eyes will soon be attracted to the ceiling, which is painted in a superb style, and with the most vivid colours. The figures of King William and Queen Mary, the founders of the college, will be particularly pointed out. In the decoration of this part of the hall, the principal artist was sir James Thornhill. It will excite the astonishment of the beholder, and with the other decorations, will produce mingled emotions of respect and veneration for the talents of the artists who were employed in the finishing of this superb chamber. In the further part of this room, which is here elevated a few steps, I saw the funeral car of lord Nelson. The body of this great naval hero, who immortalized his own name by the splendour of his achievements, and gave to the enemies of his country such convincing proofs of the *then* supremacy of the British navy,—whose name alone was a terror and carried victory in its sound, lay here in state for several days before it was deposited in St. Paul's cathedral.*

* Among the memorable events of Greenwich Hospital, that of the landing of the body of admiral Nelson is recorded

After the visiter has sufficiently admired the curious beauties of this hall, he will be conducted to the chapel, a small, but admirably neat room,

in a late publication. It was brought to England, and being decreed a public funeral, was ordered to be laid in state in the hall of Greenwich Hospital, where, during three days, the fifth, sixth, and seventh of January, the view of his honoured bier brought forth the heartfelt sigh from an immense multitude of his countrymen. On the eighth, the body was conveyed, in a solemn procession by water, to the Admiralty, preparatory to its interment in St. Paul's cathedral, where, on the following day, it was deposited, with every solemnity and attention in the power of a grateful nation to bestow. Several princes of the blood royal, the chief officers of state, and a great number of prelates, nobility, naval officers, &c. accompanied the procession from the Admiralty, together with a military force of nearly eight thousand men. The remains of the immortal Nelson himself were carried to the cathedral in a splendid funeral car, which was afterwards deposited by the lord chamberlain (the earl of Dartmouth) in Greenwich Hospital, there to remain as a permanent memorial of the gratitude a generous nation is ever willing to show to those heroes who have fallen gloriously in its native service.

The admirers of exalted talents or exalted bravery, will read with satisfaction the following appropriate and concise remarks on the character of admiral Nelson:

"Thus has died, and thus has been buried, with the tears of a nation, over the bier of their benefactor, a man as truly our own, as truly formed in the characteristic mould of British virtue, as has ever dignified the most golden page of our days of glory: a man whose courage was a principle and not a passion; an element which, cherished by natural honour, informed and animated his prudence, and thus, by a rare union of judgment and resolute enterprise, rendered it equal to the perils

with a curious stone pavement of most excellent workmanship. The superb scriptural paintings over the altar table, are by Mr. Benjamin West, an American, who has been for a long time distinguished for the masterly execution of his pieces, the boldness of his designs, and for his patient and unwearied industry. The pews in this chapel are of mahogany; separate ones are allotted for the governors of the hospital, and distinct seats or benches are assigned for the boys and boatswains. Near the entrance door, which is of mahogany, are four beautiful pillars of Italian marble, most highly finished.

of the times: a man whose exalted merit was only equalled by his retreating simplicity; a simplicity so without any visible promise, any external appearance of the mighty soul within, that the hero was unknown until seen in his acts, and then, by his unequalled modesty, seemed known as such to all, but unknown to himself. And if any thing be yet wanting to complete the full measure of that excellence with which the best of our poets have ever arrayed that fond image of their imagination, a *perfect English hero*, he had it; for, with a piety equal to his valour, considering himself in his best successes as an humble instrument of his God, he imputed the whole of his success to the protecting hand of Providence, and that Providence, in return, remembering him in the day of peril, and in the hour of death, allotted him a death in victory, and an eternal name amongst the brave defenders of their country."

Lord Nelson, at the time of his death, was in his forty-seventh year, and the number of years was equal to the number of the ships of the line he captured from the enemy.

They are eleven feet high, and cost each one thousand pounds, if our conductor was correct. The columns which support the organ gallery are of marble fluted, and fifteen feet in height, of the Ionic order. No part of this room is more worthy of notice than the communion table and the ornaments attached to it. It is of black marble, semi-oval in figure, and nearly eight feet long. The ascent to it is by three steps of black marble, with a beautiful ornamented railing. Six cherubims support the table. The genius of West again appears, by his painting over the altar, of the escape of St. Paul from shipwreck, in the island of Malta.

Other decorations and ornaments will command notice. They are almost profuse; but being designed by taste and executed with skill and judgment, we should forbear censuring, especially when we are told that Stuart was the architect.

The Council Room, which is in King Charles's building, is worthy of the visiter's notice, for it contains some excellent paintings.

No part of this superb and extensive establishment afforded me more pleasure in the inspection, than the wards or bed-rooms, in which there is a combination of neatness, cleanliness, convenience, and comfort. They are designated by the name of

some celebrated vessel of war, which is painted in large letters over the door. Each seaman has a separate apartment for his lodging, and the whole are arranged on one side, leaving a spacious place where they may walk and associate together.

The bed-rooms are open and closed at top, at will, by means of hinges, which permits one half of the cover to be raised for the admission of air, when the door is shut. There are sixty-three wards, and two thousand four hundred and forty-eight beds, in the four principal buildings, designated by King Charles's, Queen Anne's, King William's, and Queen Mary's. The whole form what is properly called Greenwich Hospital. There are in King Charles's building, three hundred and thirty-two beds; in King William's, five hundred and fifty-nine; in Queen Anne's, four hundred and thirty-seven; and in Queen Mary's, one thousand one hundred and twenty.

The kitchen and dining-rooms are not the least interesting parts of this splendid pile which a stranger will desire to see. He will observe an admirable union of system with convenient arrangement, while plenty unites with economy, and the strictest order and decorum combine with the greatest neatness, to make the whole a most pleasing sight. The food

is varied every day, and is of the most wholesome kind.

After having seen every part of this edifice to which strangers can have admission, we strolled into the Park, the walks of which are pleasantly varied. Large flocks of deer were feeding and sporting among the trees; many of them were very different in their appearance from those which are seen in the woods of America. Nearly in the centre of the Park, on the summit of an abrupt ascent, stands the Observatory, the view from which is extensive, beautiful, and grand. The astronomer royal has this delightful residence, and at the time of my visit, it was occupied by Dr. Maskeline.

From the highest point of Shooter's Hill, for so this eminence is called, I was gratified with a sight of one of the most beautiful landscapes; and I shall be excused for inserting a few lines from a poem lately published by a scholar at Greenwich, descriptive of this distinguished place:

"See! Shooter's Hill, who rears his brow on high,
With sudden transport fills the admiring eye,
Where Severndrog's proud battlements proclaim
A James's valour, and his country's fame.
From this proud steep, with woods and villas crown'd,
New prospects rise the immense horizon round.

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The village of Greenwich, now so famed for its hospital, was once the residence of royalty, and traces of it are to be found as early as the commencement of the fourteenth century. In 1483, Henry VI. granted the manor of Greenwich to his uncle, Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, who probably began the park which is now so extensive and so beautiful. Henry VII. very much enlarged the palace, and frequently resided in it; and here Henry VIII. was born. That festive mirth which distinguished the court in his reign, was principally indulged at this spot. Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth were both born at Greenwich, and the latter frequently held her court here; but since the days of Charles II. who began to rebuild the palace in a style of the most expensive magnificence, it has not been the habitations of kings and queens; for in the next reign it became a royal hospital.

The pleasures afforded by a view of Greenwich would be enhanced to the visiter, if he would extend his visit to Black-Heath, which is contiguous to the grounds of the hospital. Being elevated, it affords some fine prospects, and it is enriched by a number of beautiful villas, distinguished by all that taste, neatness, and elegance, so common, and which I might almost with justice say, is peculiar to this

country. One of them (West Combe House) was once the residence of Lavinia Fulton, the celebrated Polly Peachum, whom the Duke of Bolton took from the stage, and made his wife.

My object not being to describe every thing I saw, even if time and opportunity had permitted me, I must here close my account of Greenwich and its noble environs. I left them with impressions which will never be effaced, and hurried back to London, being, with my companion, engaged to dine with Colonel Tattnall, formerly a citizen of Georgia.

Forgetting, for a moment, the extent of the metropolis, and the point most convenient to our lodgings, we took a coach which put us down at Charing Cross, nearly three miles from them.

Believing it would be most pleasant to walk, and that my knowledge of the town qualified me for a guide, I led the way, but took a course directly opposite to the one I should have taken. An approach to Hyde Park Corner, convinced me of my error.

LETTER XXV.

London—Rag Fair—Book Store of Lackington, Allen, and Co.—Westminster Abbey—Reflections arising from a View of the Busts and Statues—Monument—Disgraceful Inscription on it—Vauxhall Gardens—West India Docks—Occasional visit to Chiswick—Anecdote—Safety of London—Remarks on the condition of the Higher and Lower Classes.

FROM the quiet and pleasant village of Greenwich I shall once more bring you into the noise and filth of the metropolis; and here I must necessarily detain you awhile: not that I shall complete any thing like a picture of this huge collection of smoke coloured buildings, or even finish the outlines; but, I will take a hasty survey of a few prominent points which almost force themselves into the way of every stranger.

Strolling from street to street one day, I suddenly found myself in the midst of a multitude of filthy and ill-looking people, who seemed to be principally Jews; and who were busily engaged in buying and selling old clothes. I stopped awhile, and upon inquiry ascertained it to be Rag Fair.

It is a celebrated market for vending old clothes, which are principally collected by Jews throughout the metropolis; and who may be seen and heard at every hour, and in every lane and alley, crying out with a hoarse and disagreeable guttural sound, "old clothes, old clothes."

Curiosity led me to take a peep at the famed book store of Lackington, Allen and Co., in Finsbury Square. It is of huge dimensions, admirably contrived for the convenient display of an immense number of books in every department of literature; and remarkable for the collection, being rather of rare than of elegant editions.

Amidst the vast variety of interesting objects, or among the great number of public buildings, which will command the notice of the stranger, none will do it more forcibly or more deservedly than Westminster Abbey. It was undergoing a repair when I saw it. None can view it with indifference; and it must be admired by every visiter, equally for the style of its architecture, its size, and the monuments which fill it.

This immense pile, like almost every other I have cursorily mentioned, has been much more accurately described than I can venture to do, from the very hasty view I took of it. The mind becomes

peculiarly interested, and novel sensations are excited from the variety and antiquity of the subjects which present themselves. Yet, with exquisite workmanship, and much grandeur of design, it does not possess the magnificence of York Minster; nor did a view of the former excite those peculiar and reverential feelings, such as were involuntarily excited when I surveyed the great extent of the east and west aisle of the Minster, and elevated my eyes to the vast arch which seemed as it were lifted in air, and supported without a base. With the exception of the stone carving in Henry VII.'s chapel, the interior finishing is not equal to that of the Minster. The skreen in the latter will bear a comparison with any of the kind in the Abbey. The man of taste, and the man of learning; the virtuoso, and the mere inquirer after curiosities, will be more gratified with an examination of the monuments in Westminster Abbey, than any thing which will be furnished by the style, magnificence, or antique appearance of the structure itself.

These statues have been erected to perpetuate the memory of men who have distinguished themselves for their learning, virtues, and public services. To such characters is this venerable pile now principally dedicated. With the remains of poets, histo-

rians, warriors, and statesmen, and with the busts and monuments of such men, are its vaults and its aisles filled. While here their remains are mouldering, the inscriptions on the lifeless marble proclaim their merits and achievements, and a grateful country cherishes their remembrance with a fond attachment.

The desire of posthumous fame, an anxiety to live in the recollection of posterity, has stimulated thousands to perform great and wonderful actions. This stimulus is much more powerful in its influence, and infinitely more meritorious, than a wish for an ephemeral eclat, or for the accumulation of wealth.

Between individuals and their country, there subsists a strong and mutual obligation. The latter has a right to demand the services of its citizens, and they, on the contrary, have a fair claim on their government for *full* remuneration. Is pecuniary reward always a compensation for great sacrifices? Will the man whose breast glows with the highest sense of honour, voluntarily place it with his life in great jeopardy, for riches alone? Is it this which urges soldiers and sailors to brave the fury of storms and tempests, the dangers of battles and sieges? Is this sordid principle the stimulus of ac-

tion with the statesman, who places his character before the tribunal of the public? No: something less perishable prompts them to acts of valour and deeds of patriotism. Washington, the immortal saviour of his country's freedom, fought not for wealth, nor yet for a fame which would perish with his mortal part. For what have the bright assemblage of the American worthies laboured in their country's weal? For *its* good and *their* fame. For what has the noble catalogue of English generals and English admirals fought? To secure their country's peace, to increase its power, and to perpetuate their own fame to succeeding ages. Was it not for these objects that Warren fell an early martyr in the cause of liberty, that Montgomery expired before Quebec, and that Mercer died in the field of battle? Was it not for these, I say, that Wolfe parted with his god-like spirit on Quebec's rugged shores; that Abercrombie fell (a noble instance of valour) on the plains of Alexandria; that Nelson terminated a glorious life, in victory, at Trafalgar; and that sir John Moore fell a lamented, a much-lamented victim, at Corunna? Say not that these, and hundreds like them, have braved the dangers of the battle, and the inclemencies of all climates for sordid gain. Do not thus stigmatize their memories. Let it not be

asserted with base jealousy or malicious envy, that with such a motive the illustrious Howard shone pre-eminent in acts of benevolence; and passed a large portion of his life in prisons and in dungeons. Lastly, will any individual hazard the invidious assertion, that aught but the love of country, the hope of honour, and the hope of fame, influenced the youthful Wadsworth, Somers, and Israel, to yield their lives, a willing and a glorious sacrifice, before the walls of Tripoli? Men who perform great actions should be well rewarded; and this should not merely consist in bestowing wealth and ephemeral honours; nor is it enough that such men will be known to posterity by their works. Monuments and other posthumous tokens of great respect, have much influence in society; they rouse the torpid spirit, and stimulate men to go and do likewise, that they also may be honoured in the same way.

With impressions like these I entered the walls of Westminster Abbey, and traversed its aisles with an increased interest. I felt myself suddenly translated to the company of worthies; and that I was in the midst of men who had filled the most distinguished stations in the theatre of the world, of men who had been estimable for their virtues and admired for their talents. On either side I beheld the

representations of men who had commanded the attention of applauding senates, and of others who had conducted the fleets and armies of Britain to conquest and to glory. Here were the sculptured emblems of her poets, historians, statesmen, and warriors. In the society of so many worthies, the soul is elevated to deeds of greatness; and more than ever an unusual veneration for virtue and for fame, seized upon my soul. But while I was beholding the lifeless forms of departed greatness; while I was stalking amidst the shades of kings, prelates, and men renowned for deeds of virtue and of valour, I still remembered that all these were mouldering to decay: it was forced upon my mind, that while I was ruminating on the various scenes which had filled the lives of distinguished men, and which had given them a claim to a station in the sacred repository of real or imaginary greatness, even these firm pillars of marble and of brass were submitting to the fate of all matter. My thoughts carried me still farther: while I would have traced the actions of some of the worthies from the cradle to the tomb, that by the inevitable effects of time, even the solid walls which enclosed so much of departed grandeur, would finally be lost amidst the general

wreck of all sublunary things, and be the distinguished monuments of its own final decay.*

Amidst the variety of interesting objects which fill the interior of this venerable pile, and among so many excellent specimens of sculpture, it is difficult, from a hasty view, to say which are most beautiful, or which most worthy of admiration. The imagination becomes bewildered, and the mind confused, with the various objects which seem equally to command and to merit notice.

I well recollect the monuments of Wolfe and Abercrombie, as particularly beautiful for their workmanship and design. The former was erected by parliament, and represents the hero at the moment of victory, with one hand on the fatal wound, and falling into the arms of a grenadier, who endeavours to support him. On the front, in alto relief, is represented in brass, the landing of the troops on the rocky shores of the St. Lawrence, while some are climbing the steep ascent.†

* See Note X. at the end of the volume.

† Among many distinguished and eminent persons who have been interred at Greenwich Hospital, and for whom there are no memorials in either of the churches attached to that building, is major general James Wolfe. He was killed at Quebec in 1759, and was buried near his father, lieutenant general Edward Wolfe, in November following.

But I must not aim to be particular where so many objects press equally on the notice. A single visit serves rather to create confusion than order in the mind's arrangement; it will neither fit him to mention the objects he will see, nor enable him to describe them. This has been frequently and minutely done.

The admirers of the late lord Nelson will feel an increased glow of gratitude for his meritorious services, on seeing his excellent likeness in wax, clothed in part of the same garments he wore at the time he received the fatal wound. A pin at the top of the shoulder shows the point at which the unerring bullet entered.

In the centre of one of the cross aisles lie the remains of two great rival statesmen. The initials of one, C. J. F., points to the spot where his body rests; but, if I recollect right, there is nothing on the slab which covers the other. My guide told me that William Pitt was there entombed, and need I say that within three feet of him lay the body of Charles James Fox! Cotemporary in greatness, emulous in fame, alike commanding by their eloquence the attention of the senate, and both perhaps equally zealous for their country's honour and prosperity, they now equally rest from their labours, and are equally honoured by the nation.

I was informed it was the intention of government to erect something to their memories more splendid than the plain slabs which cover their mouldering bodies. Their talents and their labours will give them immortality among the learned and the wise; but whether they will be enrolled by their virtues among the illustrious good, I will leave to such historians as Gifford and Parr, or to those whose intimate acquaintance with their actions and thoughts will best qualify them to judge of their intrinsic excellence, and of those motives which prompted them to act, or of the ambitious views which bounded their actions. The enlightened historians of their country will not permit the names of Pitt and Fox to be forgotten amidst the thousands who have merely lived and died; they will aid, with the imperishable monuments of their own works, in perpetuating the remembrance of their public labours, and enrol their names in the long catalogue of the statesmen who are distinguished in the civil and political history of Great Britain.

After examining the interior of the Abbey, the visiter, if he chooses, will be conducted to the summit of one of the towers, from which he can have a better prospect of London than can be had from the Monument, or the dome of St. Paul's cathedral.

The former, it has been observed, is the noblest modern column in the world, and in point of elevation it is even greater than the justly celebrated pillars of Trajan and Antoninus. The latter was one hundred and seventy-two feet and a half high, and twelve feet three inches in diameter at the base; and that of Trajan was one hundred and forty-seven feet high. The column of London is of Portland stone; was begun in 1671, by sir Christopher Wren, and finished by him in 1677; it is two hundred and two feet high, and fifteen feet in diameter at the base. For several years it has considerably reclined, and endangers the safety of many of the contiguous buildings.

This fine pillar, it will be recollected, was raised by order of parliament to preserve the recollection of the devastating fire of London, which laid so great a part of it in ashes. It is a pity that a pillar so beautiful in its proportions and structure, so grand, so harmonious, and so towering, should be disfigured by so disgraceful an inscription, so dishonourable an aspersion on a numerous and respectable part of the people of England, who are bound down by the trammels of civil and ecclesiastical law, deprived of some of the best privileges of Englishmen, whose repeated efforts for emancipa-

tion have been hitherto successfully opposed by the strong arm of power, but who the lovers of equal rights most fondly hope will finally triumph over opposition, and have that rank in the scale of society which is their due, as citizens of a government which they are equally obligated to support and defend with their fortunes and their lives. The inscription to which I allude is in these words:

“This pillar was set up in perpetual remembrance of the most dreadful burning of this protestant city, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in the beginning of September, in the year of our Lord 1666, in order to the carrying on their horrid plot for extirpating the protestant religion, and old English liberty, and introducing popery and slavery.”

These unworthy and illiberal aspersions are yet suffered to remain on the monument, a proof of the weakness, if not also of the wickedness of the authority which placed them there. They were erased soon after the accession of the duke of York to the throne, but were replaced after the revolution.

While I was in London, a Jew threw himself over the iron balcony that encompasses the cone, and as it will be supposed, he fell a lifeless body on the pavement below; a victim of despair, weakness,

wickedness, or insanity. It was said he was wealthy and had a family.

During my stay in the metropolis of Great Britain, I had not an opportunity of partaking of the performances in Drury-Lane or Covent Garden theatres. Both these celebrated places of fashionable amusement were closed, as is usual in the summer season, when those who "lead the ton" are absent at watering-places, and other summer retreats.

While they are shut, Vauxhall Gardens are opened for summer amusement, and thither I went with a small party. They form the principal resort of this gay city, and for several years they have attained a celebrity for beauty and variety, which renders them the most distinguished of the kind in England. They are situated on the south side of Lambeth, about a mile and a half from London. In extent, beauty, decorations, and natural scenery, they exceeded what my imagination had conceived, or my fancy had depicted. They reminded me of fairy scenes, as described by writers of romance and novels; and are admirably fitted to seize the fancy or captivate the senses. The extensive and varied walks through trees and shrubbery, the vast profusion of coloured lamps arranged in an endless and agreeable diver-

sity of figures, the light and fanciful orchestra, the various rooms for the accommodation of the company, and fitted up in the most appropriate style, the crowd of people sauntering alone and in groups, in all directions, while some of both sexes are dancing to the sound of instrumental music from an excellent band, altogether form a scene which must communicate delight even to the most fastidious. Refreshments are furnished in small apartments, at a moderate expense, and agreeable to a bill of fare, to which the prices are annexed.

The ringing of a bell at ten o'clock, announced to the visitors that something was to be exhibited. I saw the company running in crowds, and I hastened with the rest towards the place. It was a beautiful landscape in perspective, in which hill and dale were agreeably diversified; a miller's house and a water mill were also exhibited; but that which most forcibly strikes the senses, is a representation of a waterfall. The whole is effected by machinery, with lights properly arranged and carefully concealed.

So numerous are the descriptions of this place, that it is unnecessary to be more minute. Gravel walks, pavilions, hedges, piazzas, statues, paintings,

music, mirth, and gaiety, form a scene well fitted to captivate the senses, and to excite admiration.

In noticing the environs of London, I would lead the visiter to the West-India Docks on the Isle of Dogs. They have been erected at an expense of more than half a million of pounds sterling, and in their present state they are highly worthy of a visit: they form one of the most splendid curiosities of British commerce. They are exclusively intended for the West-India trade, and all the vessels in that branch of commerce are compelled to load and unload at them. The northern dock, where vessels unload, covers a space of thirty acres, and will accommodate three hundred vessels. The other and smaller dock, which contains about twenty-four acres, is solely intended for vessels to receive cargoes. Warehouses of immense size surround the docks.

The port of London derives incalculable benefits from the West-India trade being confined to these docks, for as the vessels generally arrive in fleets, they are secure from the damage and confusion which commonly results from the immense crowd in the Thames. An inconvenience results from removing the trade to such a distance from the city; but this is more than counterbalanced by the security which is given to the vessels. It permits the

overgrown commerce of the metropolis to be conducted with more ease, convenience and despatch.

At Chiswick, on the bank of the Thames, I sometimes sought an asylum from the noise and confusion of London. My letters introduced me to the acquaintance of Mrs. Levett, (who resided here,) the young and beautiful widow of a gentleman who died in Georgia, in 1808. He had left his widow and two infant daughters in London; and after the melancholy tidings reached her, she sought a retreat with her respectable mother, Mrs. Wright, and her amiable sister, Miss Charlotte Wright, at the little village just mentioned. In this charming company I embraced every opportunity of spending a few hours. When tired of the noise of the city, I would visit this agreeable family, and I always met with a cordial and a kind reception. It will be for a long time to me a source of pleasure to reflect on the means which introduced me to the acquaintance of those females; and no period of my stay in England will be remembered with more fond delight than those hours I spent at Chiswick.

I cannot avoid noting an occurrence that took place after I had passed the day at Chiswick. Miss Wright had accompanied me with one of the little daughters of Mrs. Levett, up Chiswick lane into

the main road from Windsor to London. Here I intended to take the first empty hackney coach I saw; but being engaged in conversation I permitted them to pass one after another, until night came, and I found myself on the high road, eight miles from my lodgings. It was very dark, but I did not apprehend any danger; for in my various walks through the city at almost all hours of the night, I was in no instance molested or insulted. I felt as much security as if I were in the midst of a hamlet. I walked on slowly, and having reached Leicester square a sudden and violent shower compelled me to increase my speed, and having reached the Strand, I saw a hackney-coach. I made a momentary stop, when I was addressed by a voice from within it, "do you want a coach?" I replied "yes;" and a man jumped from behind it, opened the door, and I took my seat. There were two women and a young man seated in it. The former I very soon discovered to be common prostitutes, who were going to the Hay Market Theatre, and were desirous I should accompany them. I bade the coachman drive to my lodging in Aldersgate street, after he had put them down. They alighted at the Theatre, and I proceeded to the inn. Having arrived within a hundred yards of it, the coach was obliged to stop from having met

with another, and there was no room to pass. I got out and proposed walking home. Upon tendering the legal fare to the coachman, which was two shillings, he refused it, and demanded four shillings. This I positively objected to give him; and upon expostulating on the unreasonableness of his demand, he told me I "must pay for the *ladies* who were in the coach," and observed one of them told him "the gentleman in the coach will pay for us." Irritated at this remark, and believing he intended a fraud, I determined to reject the fellow's demand; and after again offering to pay the fare for myself, I was about to proceed on, when he stopped me. I raised my cane to strike him, but at that moment I recollected that personal revenge in this way would be immediately cognizable by the law, and prudence bade me forbear. The noise had collected the people from the neighbourhood, and among them the constable of the ward; demanding the cause of the noise, I told him; and he advised me to make the coachman drive me to the inn door, or otherwise he would say I intended to leave him without paying his fare; when there he directed me to take the number of his coach. This advice I followed, and I related to the master of the inn the whole of the circumstances, and what I deemed an imposi-

tion. He pushed the coachman from the door, and advised me not to pay him any thing. Believing him entitled by *law* to two shillings, I paid him that sum.


This adventure was of service to me: first, it reminded me that I had no right to get into a coach that was previously occupied: secondly, by remaining in the coach after the other passengers were discharged, I, became liable for the whole amount of the fare: thirdly, it convinced me that the police of London is as well regulated as any city perhaps can be, which has within its limits nearly a million of people. Personal injuries dare not be inflicted with impunity; and unlike what was the state of the people in France before the late revolution, individual rights, so far at least as they regard exemption from violence and assault, are most carefully preserved and protected.

It is a circumstance well worthy of note that this overgrown place is so well governed, solely by the invisible agency of the laws, which preserves such an immense mass of people in unity, without the aid of the soldier's bayonet, or the despot's sceptre. By them, order and harmony is diffused, and the gigantic mass is governed and regulated. So far as my own experience extends, I can say that I have

passed through various streets in the metropolis, alone, and at all hours of the night, and in no instance was I ever molested or insulted. We are apt to unite the idea of continual personal danger in an association with the huge and heterogeneous mass of the people; and when we reflect on the luxury and voluptuousness which abounds in one class of the community, and compare this with the depravity, wretchedness and poverty of an immense multitude, it is a subject not less of surprise than of curious speculation, to ascertain the means which prevent the latter from making encroachments on the former. On the one side are beheld gaiety, splendour, and the extravagance of wealth; while on the other, squalid wretchedness, and the utmost degradation of poverty, are presented on all sides, and in every street. Is it not then a singular and interesting fact, that where there is so much voluptuousness with so much depravity, opposed by so great a portion of extreme penury, that more frequent, dangerous and violent attempts are not made by the victims of the latter to lessen the enjoyments of the former, and produce a more equable distribution of pleasure and wealth?

Though it is not possible for human wisdom to devise a code of laws to prevent petty thefts, in

such a place as London, which is without walls and without gates; yet, perhaps, no city in the world of similar magnitude can boast of so great an exemption from enormous violations of the laws. The high-way robberies and murders that formerly were so frequent on the great roads leading to the city, have diminished; and the footpads that were wont to infest Hounslow and Bagshot heaths, now seldom molest the peaceable traveller. I do not mean, however to controvert the political and moral axioms that much vice prevails in all large towns; that the larger the worse; and that London, as being the largest, presents more objects of vice and more of distress. Various modes for the supply of the ordinary wants of life are here resorted to, which are unknown and unthought of in other places, and which are unnecessary where there is a less division of labour, and a more equal distribution of property. In a population of more than 800,000 souls, an immense number are doomed to disgusting employments from day to day to secure the most scanty means for a wretched existence. In a comparison with the large towns of the United States, how vast is the disproportion of mendicants! how seldom is the passenger in the streets of the former stopped by the urgent solicitations of the wretched



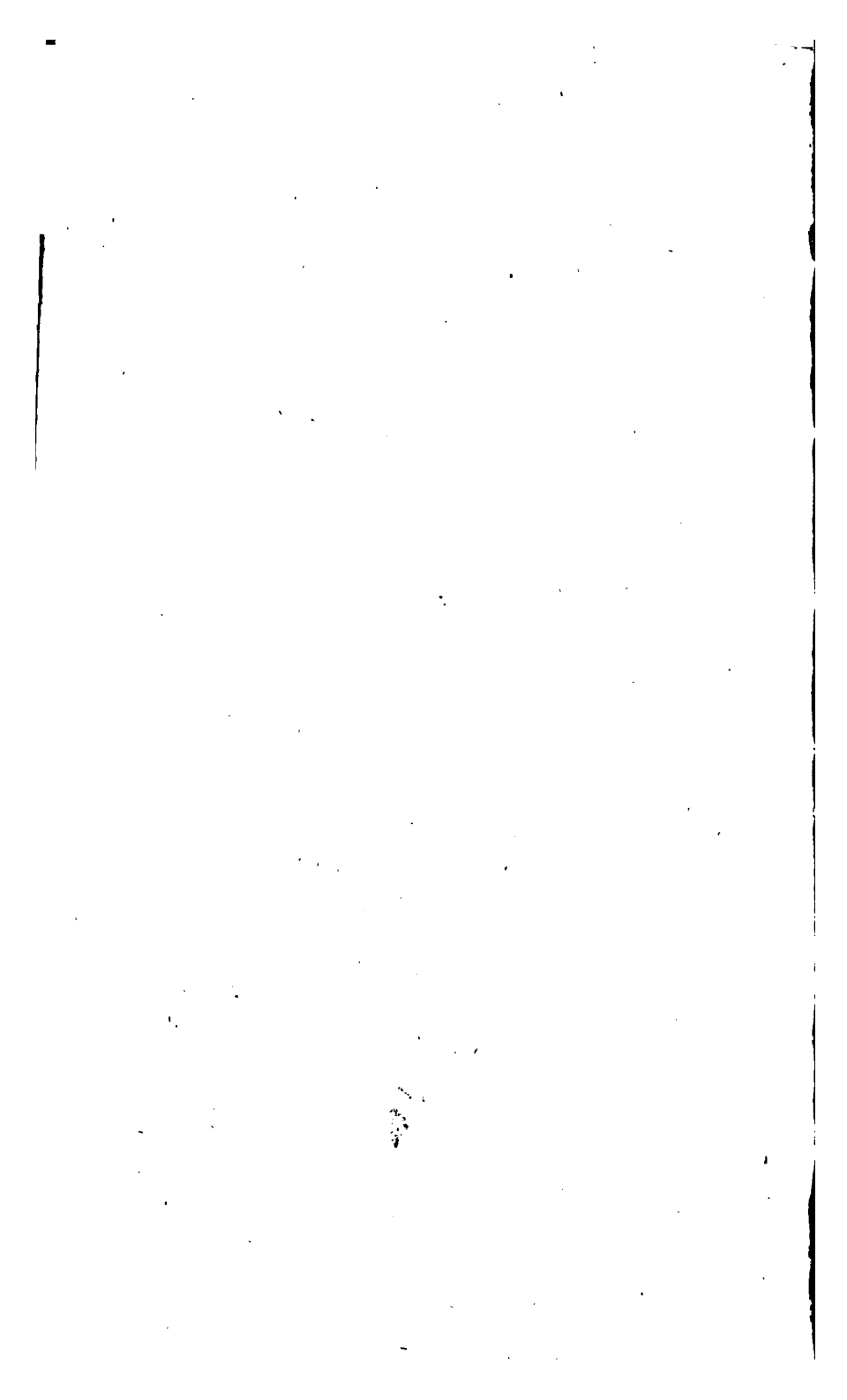
pauper! But in London, especially, the number of objects who throng the streets, and in a tone of the most humble supplication, ask passengers for a penny, or a half-penny, is disgraceful to the community of which they are members. They ask for a pittance, which, poor as it is, perhaps is required to supply the cravings of a half famished child. And who would deny this small boon? who is there that possesses so little of the "milk of human kindness," as to refuse an aid so easily afforded? "Be charitable to the poor and to the needy," is an injunction which all should remember. Riches are unstable things; and he, who to-day is wallowing in luxuries, and in the possession of thousands, may, to-morrow, want that aid which he has indignantly refused to the poor mendicant. Spurn not from your door the wretched victim of poverty and distress, for to him who is kind, shall kindness also be shown. The proper use of riches is to purchase the conveniences and the comforts of life, and to diffuse blessings where the stern decrees of fate have denied them.

What a noble employment of money is this? How enviable is the state of that man, who, whilst he provides amply for the wants and cares of those to whom duty and affection oblige him to attend,

still looks around with an inquisitive compassion for objects of distress, that he may distribute blessings and supply their wants! On the contrary, how despicable is the condition of him who hoards his ill-gotten wealth, and thinks of self alone! What consoling reflections will sooth the pangs of disease, and support the mind in the agonies of disease, of *him* who has been a friend to the poor and the distressed; and again, what will be the feelings of the wretch whose sordid soul has never allowed him to perform one generous act! The state of the one is truly enviable and to be coveted, while that of the other is pitiable and to be detested.

NOTES.





NOTES
TO THE
FIRST VOLUME
OF
LETTERS ON ENGLAND.

NOTE I. Page 16.

A GERMAN who spent several years in England, has observed, "that no better proof need be alleged of the good nature of the English, than their deportment on all public occasions. One is astonished to observe compassion, benevolence, generosity, and, in one word, all the social virtues carried to so high a degree of perfection among the lowest of the people. If a stranger loses his way, and happens to ask for any particular street or house, the first person whom he meets will point out his road, and even accompany him, without the hope of any recompense: no one ever experienced a refusal."

I have had frequent occasion to verify the truth of the above remarks: one instance I will select from many others. At Rochdale I quit the stage in which I had taken a seat for Manchester, as I wished to visit Bury, distant five miles; and there being no public conveyance, I walked to the village

after night. When I entered the place, it was extremely dark, and I knew not who kept the only inn there; and meeting a soldier, he not only directed me the way, but accompanied me to the door. The distance he had to return was considerable.

NOTE II. Page 50.

IT is admitted that the manufactures of England are the basis of her trade and opulence; and it is equally evident, that even the very abundant supply of crude materials which she has, would not, without the former, be sufficient for her support. From an estimate made a few years since of the net product of the manufactures, the following result appeared: That the total amount was 63,600,000 pounds sterling, and the population which they supported, 1,585,000. The woollen manufacture was computed to yield 15,500,000*l.* leather, 10,500,000*l.*; iron, tin, and lead, 10,000,000*l.*; and cotton, 9,500,000*l.* The latter has greatly increased. Such an immense sum could not and would not be realized, but for the numerous and almost incredible variety of machinery which has been and is constantly inventing for saving and facilitating labour. Workmanship is thus brought to perfection, and labour is made both cheap and easy. The powers of description would be baffled were I to attempt to delineate some of the machines; for many of them are so complex and so curious, that the pencil and the graver would almost fail in a correct delineation. They are pleasing monuments (as *merely* regards the *industry* and *ingenuity* of a people) of national genius, and the sources of an abundant and overflowing wealth. But as if great riches were necessarily the causes of great evils, the increase of the manufactures has tended to increase the sum of human wretchedness and depravity.

This is almost proverbial in all the manufacturing towns; and the number of the dissolute and the profligate is nearly incredible. I am wandering from the subject.

Such has been the increase of the manufacture of cotton, that mills and machinery for this purpose are dispersed all over the kingdom; but Manchester may be considered as the emporium of this important business, as London is that of general trade. Before the genius of Arkwright burst forth in the invention and perfection of his celebrated machine, the cotton trade was of very minor importance in the scale; but such is its wonderful powers, that by the influence of one great wheel, set in motion by water or steam, a thousand others are made to revolve; and four thousand threads are spun in a manner incredibly expeditious, and of extraordinary fineness. The subsequent invention of Jennies had such an effect in expediting labour, that the products have experienced a proportional reduction in price, while the sale has been increased.

Curiosity and the course of business led me into a number of the cotton factories, where, while I gazed with wonder at the complicated machinery, and had my ears almost stunned with the noise of wheels and spindles, reflections crowded on my mind at beholding in one apartment, hundreds of both sexes and of all ages, employed from morn till night; and in winter a considerable part also of the latter. I admired the extreme dexterity of the fingers of the little boys and girls; but I lamented the necessity which confined them to such employments at so tender an age. Such, thought I, is the consequence of an overgrown population; the exorbitant price of land; the disproportion of riches; the distinctions of rank; and the increase of luxury; and with exultation I turned my

eyes to my own country; where, blessed with an abundant and fertile soil,—with a diversity of it and of climate, fitting it for almost every product, and containing within its bowels all the useful minerals; where land is cheap and easily obtained; where there are no lordly distinctions of rank; and where there is a government founded on the basis of rational liberty, securing to the people every just right, and all the blessings of freedom. But my mind dwelt on the moral influence and physical effects, which resulted from confining so many persons, at sedentary employments, in close rooms, with the indiscriminate mixture of the sexes; and my feelings were highly interested for the little children who were so constantly confined, and deprived of all their juvenile amusements. This, said I, is contrary to nature, and stern necessity put in a plea. The nation is made wealthy, commerce is extended, and a few grow rich; but hundreds and thousands are brought up in wretchedness and ignorance, and die in poverty. Yes, from this polluted source, wealth flows into the kingdom in an abundant stream; but unlike a river which divides and subdivides into numerous branches, fertilizing and enriching as it passes along, it does not distribute itself equally through the community. The pleasures of a few are increased; towns and cities flourish; the elegancies of life are multiplied; but still the mass of human misery is the same. The splendour and the gaiety of *one* leave to the *hundred* a vast disproportion of misery; and the latter, with similar capacities for enjoyment, drag out a life, marked only by want, ignorance and depravity. This is among the effects of a reduction and division of labour, and a reduction also in its price, while the price of all the essentials of life has remained nearly the same. Hence, the number of paupers has, it is

said, not lessened, but increased; and work-houses, infirmaries, and poor-houses, have been multiplied. And, as if crimes were the necessary product of poverty, the prisons, it is asserted, have been more filled, as the manufacturing system has been more extended. This, then, is a prolific source of great evils; and to this, with all its importance, we must attribute a lamentable proportion of misery.

The children in the cotton and other factories, it is true, are *employed* and *supported*; their parents are relieved from a charge, which, in many instances, they find it difficult to bear; and they are in some measure prevented from trespassing on the public; but they are obliged to work from five in the morning until six in the evening, half an hour being allowed for breakfast, and one hour for dinner; and this is the round from year to year. Receiving no instruction, and herded in such numbers, their depravity keeps pace with their ignorance, and their physical nature suffers with their moral and intellectual. The females are equally so with the males; and such is the ignorance with which they are brought up in these nurseries of disease and immoralities, that many of the former, when they marry, have almost as little knowledge of domestic management as an African or Esquimaux.

It is not denied that the morals of these people are monstrously depraved; or, indeed, that in general, they are almost without a moral character. Religion they know only by its name: they know not its principles. Under such circumstances they are as profligate as can be imagined;—the men intemperate, and the women wanton. Let the ale-houses at night and on Sunday prove the former, and the streets after dark the latter.

I will admit that the wages of some of the workmen with small families, are sufficient, with economy, to allow them to

save something for a time of need; but few, very few do this: and whence this general improvidence, this inattention to future wants?* I answer, the manner of education which keeps the person in ignorance, and renders him incapable of reasoning and reflecting, added to the nature of a government which creates distinctions, and places a large proportion of the people so far below the level of mediocrity, weakens, while it debases their minds. Men should at least have an ideal dignity of character; they should feel themselves of importance in society, if they would attain any of its honourable distinctions, and not be content to remain ignoble, because they cannot boast an illustrious train of ancestry.

The picture which I have hastily taken of the state of those employed in the great manufactories, is not too much coloured; it is a just delineation. At a period when they are most fitted for it, the children grow up without instruction, and they are deprived of the juvenile amusements which equally contribute to their health and their delight. Ignorance, with the force of example constantly before them, and the want of a check upon the natural propensities of the mind, gradually destroys or deadens the moral faculty; the want of due exercise, added to close confinement in an atmosphere rendered impure by mineral and vegetable particles, saps the foundation of the best constitution. I might close these re-

* A late writer has said, that every labourer with a family, in England, is a pauper; that a man with a wife and four children, cannot, from his labour, provide them and himself with a sufficiency of food, not merely to gratify the cravings of hunger, but to maintain life with comfort. With such, *comfort* is a situation scarcely understood—not known. How enviable is the condition of the former class in my own country! We should sympathize with the miseries and the distresses of the manufacturing poor of England, and we should pray to have our country exempt from such hot-beds of depravity and physical evils! Americans! take warning!

marks in the words of a celebrated writer, and say, "how many live to grow up without decency, without comfort, and without hope; without morals, without religion, and without shame; and bring forth slaves like themselves to tread in the same path of misery."

With such a picture before you, do you wish, Americans, to establish extensive manufactures? No: let England pride herself upon her ingenuity; let her boast of her artizans, and of her being the workshop for all Europe, and for the United States. Leave to her these things; and as she *claims with bombast*, the lordship of the ocean; let her also claim, *without envy*, the first rank in the scale of artists; let her enjoy the satisfaction of making pins and needles, and knives and buttons, of locks and cloths, and a thousand other things, for half the world; let wealth rush in torrents upon her; but let it be recollected, that with all this, there is a concomitant portion of evil which spreads with pestiferous influence through the community.

It is a melancholy fact, that the greatest portion of the labouring manufacturers of England, are wretchedly poor; and such is the nature of the laws, preventing emigration, and such the state of society, that they generally remain abject, ignorant, servile, and dependent. It is the interest of their lordly masters, and it is their general conduct, to keep them poor; this interest overbalances humanity, and a desire which they should feel to see their fellow-creatures rising a few more grades above the condition of brutes. Their state of poverty dooms them to continual labour, and in many of their employments they constantly inhale an impure atmosphere, thus adding disease to their abject state; a state, as I before remarked, which so debases their minds, as to preclude the hope of rising one step higher in the scale of society. In such

an order of things, man loses his native dignity; he is seemingly content to remain in the condition in which his ancestors were placed, and succeeding generations share no better fate.

The evils I have faintly pourtrayed are generally admitted to exist, but it is not so easy to devise a remedy for their removal. Under existing circumstances it would be scarcely practicable. The surplus population,* and the disproportion of wealth and power, are such as to keep those poor who are already so. Distinctions have been created in society, which are deemed essential to the spirit of the government; and the poor artizan who is destined to trudge from year to year, to work day after day, and night after night, has his energies cramped, and does not obtain the just pride, habits, and feelings of those who, by inheritance, or by fortuitous circumstances, are somewhat more elevated in society.

The warm advocates for the establishment of *extensive* manufactures in my own country, place the evils which are the attendants of such in *this*, far in the back ground, and contend that the peculiar and favourable state of society, the popular nature of the government, the freedom of conscience in religious matters, the facility of acquiring landed property, the high price of labour, and the scattered population, are invincible obstacles to the reduction of any part of the community to the servile condition of the thousands who, in England,

“Ply the sickly trade.”

* I say surplus population, because thousands of acres of land now laid out in parks, or devoted to the purposes of pleasure, and lying waste, would, if judiciously divided, furnish support to tens of thousands of inhabitants; thus the price of bread would be diminished, and the poor would seldom complain of scarcity.

There is both truth and reason in such arguments; but I will still insist, that, with a few exceptions, we should be cautious in laying the foundation of future ills, by taking our citizens from the plough, and placing them at the loom and shuttle. The labours of the field give health to the body and cheerfulness to the mind. They invigorate and animate the whole frame, and give a serenity to the countenance, which is a stranger in the crowded and filthy apartments of great manufactories. I deprecate the evils of which they are the prolific origin, and I would rather see my countrymen cultivators of the soil and enterprising mariners, than occupied in manufactures which are less favourable to the increase of intellect, to the promotion of morality, to the security of health, and the production of a hardy people; and I will add, less favourable for securing that just pride of character which a free people should possess, and upon which their independence as a nation so essentially depends.

From every view of the subject I would say, let us leave to the proud little isle of the ocean, "the boast of supplying all Europe with her wares; let us leave to *these lords of the sea*, the distinction of which they are so tenacious, that of being the white slaves of the rest of the world, and doing for it all its dirty work. The poor must be kept miserably poor, or such a state of things could not continue. There must be laws to regulate their wages, not by the nature of their work, but by the pleasure of their masters; laws to prevent their removal from one place to another within the kingdom, and to prohibit their emigration out of it. They would not be crowded in hot task-houses by day, and herded together in damp cellars at night; they would not toil in unwholesome employments from sunrise till sunset, whole days, and whole days and quarters, for with twelve hours' labour the avidity

of trade is not satisfied; they would not sweat night and day, keeping up this *laus perennis* of the devil, before furnaces which are never suffered to cool, and breathing in vapours which inevitably produce disease and death; the poor would never do these things unless they were miserably poor, unless they were in that state of abject poverty which precludes instruction, and by destroying all hope for the future, reduces man, like the brutes, to seek for nothing beyond the gratification of present wants."

The evils so glowingly delineated by the ingenious writer of the above paragraph, cannot be easily, if at all, obviated, and therefore it is of importance to prevent their extension to other countries; but if *manufactures* must be established in the United States, let it not be done under the unwholesome, immoral, and slavish system which governs them in Europe. The substitution of a more liberal policy, and the more general diffusion of the common branches of education, would, for those who are doomed to work in manufactories, be a shield against the monstrous immoral practices which stain the characters of a great proportion of the individuals who pass their lives in the extensive manufacturing establishments of Great Britain, herded together like brutes, ignorant, careless, and profligate.

This picture, I repeat, is not exaggerated, and I can testify to the truth of it, especially as it regards Manchester. Its numerous and extensive factories are sources of wealth to the proprietors, and at a *distance*, present a pleasing appearance, but on a nearer view the aspect changes. They are subservient to commerce, and flourish with it; but when conducted as they are in Birmingham, Leeds, Manchester, and some other towns in England, they become prolific sources

of pestilence, and hot-beds of immoralities, which render the subjects thereof fit only to be the slaves of a tyrant.

A modern writer of distinguished rank in literature, who has in his various publications equally indulged in the wildness of fancy and the portraiture of truth, has, in a late visit to Birmingham, made the following remarks, which, though they are somewhat high-coloured, present a faithful picture of that place.

"I have seen much, and more than foreigners are usually permitted to see, but it has been too much to remember, or to comprehend satisfactorily. I am still giddy, dizzied with the hammering of presses, the clatter of engines, and the whirling of wheels; my head aches with the multiplicity of infernal noises, and my eyes with the light of infernal fires; I may add, my heart also, at the sight of so many human beings employed in infernal occupations, and looking as if they were never destined for any thing better. Our earth was designed to be a seminary for young angels, but the devil has certainly fixed on this spot for his own nursery-garden and hot-house.

"You must forgive me if I do not attempt to describe processes which I saw too cursorily, and with too little pleasure to understand. A sick stomach will not digest the food that may be forced down it, and the intellect is as little able to assimilate that for which it has no aptitude.

"When we look at gold, we do not think of the poor slaves who dug it from the caverns of the earth; but I shall never think of the wealth of England, without remembering that I have been in the mines. Not that the labourers repine at their lot; it is not the least evil of the system, that they are perfectly well satisfied to be poisoned soul and body. Foresight is not a human instinct; the more unwholesome the employment, the higher of course are the wages paid to the work-

men; and incredible as it may seem, a trifling addition to their weekly pay makes these short-sighted wretches contend for work which they certainly know will, in a few years, produce disease and death, or cripple them for the remainder of their existence.

“ I cannot pretend to say, what is the consumption here of the two-legged beasts of labour; commerce sends in no return of its killed and wounded. Neither can I say that the people look sickly, having seen no other complexion in the place than what is composed of oil and dust smoke-dried. Every man whom I meet stinks of oil and emery. Some I have seen with red eyes and green hair; the eyes affected by the fires to which they are exposed, and the hair turned green by the brass works. You would not, however, discover any other resemblance to a triton in them, for water is an element with the use of which, except to supply steam engines, they seem to be unacquainted.

“ The noise of Birmingham is beyond description; the hammers seem never to be at rest. The filth is sickening; filthy as some of our old towns may be, their dirt is inoffensive; it lies in idle heaps, which annoy none but those who walk within the little reach of their effluvia. But here it is active and moving, a living principle of mischief, which fills the whole atmosphere, and penetrates every where, spotting and staining every thing, and getting into the pores and nostrils. I feel as if my throat wanted sweeping like an English chimney. Think not; however, that I am insensible to the wonders of the place; in no other age or country was there ever so astonishing a display of human ingenuity; but watch-chains, necklaces, and bracelets; buckles, buttons, and snuff-boxes, are dearly purchased at the expense of health and morality; and if it be considered how large a portion of that ingenuity is em-

ployed in making what is hurtful as well as what is useless, it must be confessed, that human reason has more causes at present for humiliation than for triumph at Birmingham."

With a little fiction, there is much more of truth in the above remarks; and they should be well considered by the advocates for manufactures in the United States; which will take from the field and the healthy labours of the husbandman, the hardy sons of the country, to place them in confined, filthy, and unwholesome workshops. Our republican form of government, the dearness of labour, the facility of acquiring land, the habits of the people, and *true* policy, forbid us to do so, and urge us to exchange our agricultural products for the ingenious and useful wares of Great Britain, and other countries.

NOTE III. Page 54.

I WAS told, and the veracity of my authoress was placed far above suspicion, that there was not in Manchester an individual divine of the established church, of good moral character. From whence can arise such depravity among those who style themselves the disciples of Jesus Christ? A late writer has very justly observed, "even in a collegiate church, when they are chaunting in full choir, the cold, inanimate, and sometimes irreverent manner in which they acquit themselves, shocks the feelings of a stranger." Will not this lack of zeal in the performance of worship, account for the few proselytes they make to the established church? And may not such lukewarmness arise from the principles of toleration? A principle so just, should not produce such an evil. On religious matters men should be left to think and act as they please: they alone are accountable to their God; and their consciences and their reason should be their guide. On subjects connected *only* with the temporal or eternal welfare of the *individual*, persecution should not be allowed; and we should proudly rejoice that the days of fanaticism and of martyrdom have long since fled with those darkened eras, in which men were as cruel as they were ignorant.

NOTE IV. Page 66.

I DO not admit that an union of sentiment is a proof of correctness; but I am pleased to notice, from the remarks of Mr. Silliman, in his travels through England, that he was impressed with the same opinion of the general character of the common people, in the country.

He says he found them to be "civil and obliging. Their dress," he adds, "was quite as decent as that worn on similar occasions by the same class of people with us, and their manners indicated cheerfulness and contentment."

 NOTE V. Page 85.

FEW countries in any age, have equalled Great Britain in the extent and value of her commerce; and while she imports from every region of the globe every article that conduces to the comfort, convenience, and luxury of her people, she scarcely makes any other return but in her manufactures. These pay for the imports from Africa, from Asia, from the various parts of Europe, and from the United States of America.

Of agricultural productions, England has none to sell. Her various manufactures in cotton, wool, copper, iron, tin, lead, silk, &c. are the prolific sources of her national opu-

lence; and these are distributed to every region where commerce has unfurled her flag.

Soon after the close of the American revolution, it was apprehended that the commerce of Great Britain would have been materially affected by the defection of so important a portion of her dependencies: but the reverse ensued; and the trade from England to the United States increased with the flow of population in the latter, and wealth followed in the train. It would be difficult to have assigned the limits to which the trade between the United States and England would have been carried, had the latter pursued that wise and liberal policy which should be consulted by all nations; and her disregard of which has produced hostile sentiments in both governments; re-kindled national enmities; aroused party feelings; checked the natural course of trade; almost "let slip the dogs of war;" and in either country produced such a state of things which will scarcely be removed by years of quiet and good understanding.

NOTE VI. Page 91.

THIS celebrated pillar, erected in the middle of Trajan's Forum, has attracted the attention of all travellers to the capital of Italy. The height has been variously estimated; for Eutropius has made it one hundred and forty-four feet, while Marlian says it was one hundred and twenty-eight. Mr. Gibbon speaks of it as one hundred and ten feet high. Within, it had one hundred and eighty-five winding steps by which to ascend to the top, and light was admitted in its whole length by forty little windows. On various parts were described the noble actions of Trajan, both in peace and war; and on the summit was a gigantic statue of the emperor, twenty feet high, clad in military armour, holding in his left hand a sceptre, and in his right a globe of gold in which his ashes were deposited. During the pontificate of Sextus I. the statue of the emperor was removed to give place to that of St. Peter. The saintlike character of the apostle but ill accorded with the warlike trophies on the pillar; and a more appropriate situation would have been over the sacred altar, or within the vestibule of a sanctuary.

A modern and elegant historian, in speaking of the monuments of Roman grandeur, says of this pillar, "at a small distance from thence was situated the Forum of Trajan. It was surrounded with a lofty portico in the form of a quadrangle, into which triumphal arches opened a noble and

spacious entrance; in the centre rose a column of marble, whose height of one hundred and ten feet, denoted the elevation of the hill that had been cut away. This column, which still subsists in its ancient beauty, exhibited an exact representation of the Dacian victories of its founder. The veteran soldier contemplated the story of his own campaigns, and by an easy illusion of national vanity, the peaceful citizen associated himself to the honours of the triumph."

NOTE VII. Page 96.

MR. WATT, the surviving partner of the late firm of Boulton and Watt, of Soho, near Birmingham, a man equally remarkable for his genius and his talents, very justly claims the merit of having made the most important improvements in the steam engine. When I called to deliver to this gentleman a letter of introduction from a friend in Leeds, he was not at home, and I was therefore deprived of the pleasure of seeing a man venerable for his years, and equally estimable for his private worth, his philanthropy, and his mechanical ingenuity.

It is in vain to attempt a description of a steam engine, or to describe its beautiful movements. The invention and improvement of this mode of applying force to machinery, may be considered among the most important branches of modern mechanics. Again and again I have gazed on its wonderful powers, and the more I looked, the more I have wondered that the genius of man, combined with art, could effect so much.

The astonishing power of a steam engine may be conceived from the following fact. One bushel of coals applied to one of them, will raise 30,000,000 of pounds weight of water one foot high, 3,000,000 ten feet high, and so on in this proportion. A steam engine as improved by Boulton and Watt, erected in Cornwall, was made to work a pump of eighteen inches in diameter, and more than six hundred feet high, at the rate of ten strokes in a minute, of each seven feet

long; and that with one fifth part of the coals used in a common engine for the same purpose. The force of this machine was equal to the raising of a weight of eighty-one thousand pounds, eighty feet in a minute, which is equal to the united force of one hundred horses.

In this improved engine, the steam acts and a vacuum is made, alternately above and below the piston, by which double the power is exerted to what the same cylinder would otherwise produce; and it is still further augmented by an inequality in the length of the lever.

Although the gentlemen mentioned above, have the fairest claims to the honour of having made the most important improvements to the steam engine; and although they have received a reward perhaps fully adequate to the industrious exertions of their genius, yet they do not merit the originality of invention. The expansive force of steam was not unknown to some of the ancients; and Hero of Alexandria, makes some mention of its power in a contrivance particularly described by him. In 1630, a French writer described the mode of raising water to the upper part of a house by steam. The Marquis of Worcester, in 1665, says something of the expansive force of steam; but seems to have had no knowledge of the advantages which would result from condensing it by cold water. This most valuable discovery was reserved for a Captain Savery, about the close of the seventeenth century, and a patent was granted to him by parliament for it. Successive alterations and improvements were made by different persons, until Mr. Watt gained a patent for his in 1768; but little was effected with his machine until the year 1775, when an union was made with Mr. Boulton to ascertain its powers by various experiments. From that period, incalculable benefits have resulted to the British nation from the erection of

steam engines for raising water from mines, and coal, iron ore, stone, &c. from their native beds. They have been applied to all the varied purposes of the most extensive manufactures of wool, cotton, iron, &c.; and perhaps, with the exception of Mr. Arkwright's inventions, no discovery or improvements in mechanics of the last century, equals that of the steam engine for its general applicability and extensive usefulness. The great works of the Albion mills, near London, were propelled by steam. Several highly important improvements have been made in steam engines since 1794, for raising water, working bellows, propelling machinery in manufactures, and forcing vessels through water against wind and tide, without sails. For the extensive application of these powerful engines to navigation, our country is indebted to Robert Fulton; a man whose memory should be cherished, and to whom honour and praise is due, for his genius, his learning, his enterprise, and the adaptation of all these to purposes of great national good.

NOTE VIII. Page 138.

THERE is much contrariety of sentiment on this matter; and most of my countrymen, it is said by the advocates of an *extensive manufacturing* system, guided by what *they* call patriotism, would prefer articles of home fabrication at equal or higher prices, to those of any foreign country. I would give to such that praise which their amor patriæ merits; but I am still inclined to think, a more comprehensive view of the subject would effect a change of opinion. An argument offered by them, and which I deem of no little force, is founded on the peculiar democratic form of our government, which, as creating fewer distinctions among the people, secures to all who have virtue, talents, and industry, a fair and equal chance of attaining wealth, influence and respectability. This equality, or correct appreciation of the moral and intellectual excellencies, (which are the only just criteria of distinction) they say will not permit the affluent to oppress the indigent, or he who possesses power to exercise tyrannical sway over any part of the community. To this valuable quality in the composition for a nation's independence and happiness, may be added the more general diffusion of learning, which, with a native freedom of soul, are powerful barriers on the one hand to abasement, and on the other, they give to each individual a just notion of his own importance. Dissatisfied then, with the situation in which he may have been placed by nature or fortuitous circumstances, he is ever looking for-

ward to a better station in society; and if he fails to advance in the scale of influence and respectability, the cause must generally be with himself. Such are among the arguments used by the advocates for the establishment of manufactures in our country. It should, however, be recollected, that circumstances invariably connected with an extensive manufacturing system, even under a government so well calculated to encourage the soul's best principles, and the native energies of the mind, may ultimately produce that licentious and abased character, which is incompatible with freedom, and the true dignity of man. If manufactures must be established, some exceptions should be made as to their situation. Certain sections of our country are better adapted for them, from the excess of population, sterility of soil, and cheapness of labour: others again, from an opposite state in some respects, will not, for a long time, offer any strong inducement to the commercial adventurer with a large capital. Hence, the New England states, and particularly Rhode Island, the western part of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, with the states of Ohio, Tennessee, and Kentucky, may ultimately become the seats of extensive manufactures; while those bordering on the Atlantic ocean will feel most interest in commerce. The geographical position of each, together with the habits of the people, lead them to different pursuits, and have created a division in interests; a division, however, which will only continue during a state of peace.

NOTE IX. Page 178.

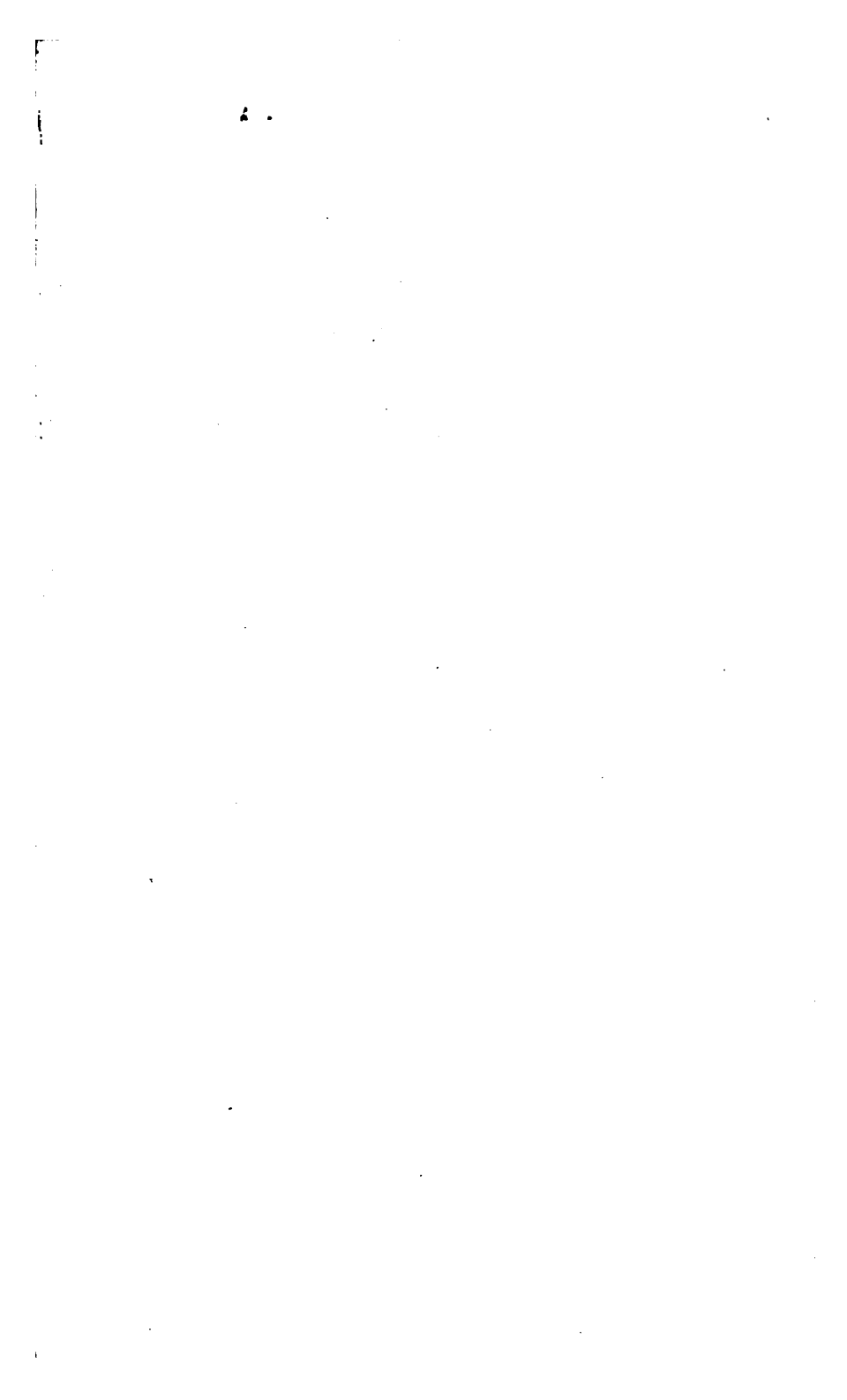
AMONG English worthies, there is no name which more deservedly commands our veneration than that of John Howard. Alone, unaided, and in the midst of difficulties which would have seemed insurmountable to ordinary men, this distinguished individual persevered in a course of the most laborious exertions for a succession of years, in every country of Europe, and some other quarters of the globe, to relieve the miseries of the most abject and distressed of the human race; and with a success which at once proved his judgment in the direction of his efforts, his courage, his humanity, and perseverance. Who then is more estimable? Who more justly deserves the grateful offerings of the good in every country, than he who viewed the afflicted in every clime as equally commanding his attention? His beneficence was pure as angels, thoughts wide as the expanse of the universe; active in its diffusion and application as the soul which engendered it; and unabated as long as corporeal powers permitted him to seek out places and modes. Such was the mind of Howard; and for the protraction, number, and extent of his good actions, no individual of ancient or of modern days, has higher claims to rank among the illustrious; for certainly none ever planned a wider range of beneficence, and executed it with more success. His actions were directed to the good of his fellow men; absolved from all personal interests, regardless of personal dangers, and unconfined by the narrow limits of his country.

Herculean were his labours, and wonderful his success, not only in relieving the miseries of thousands of individuals, but in reforming their vices, correcting the errors of public institutions, exposing the wickedness, ignorance, and cruelty of public officers, and in fixing a foundation for various improvements which enhanced the value of all his efforts, and will yet more perpetuate his name to latest posterity. A victim to his philanthropic zeal, he died at the distance of five hundred miles from his native land, and he was buried eight miles from Cherson.*

While Howard commanded the esteem of thousands, his character and his actions called forth the panegyrics of the learned; and no one has been more eloquent on this occasion than the celebrated Burke; nor was his genius ever more laudably and gloriously displayed than in the following eulogium on the character of this truly great man. In a speech to the freemen of Bristol, in which he made some allusions to a fact in Mr. Howard's publication, he expressed himself in the following enthusiastic language: "I cannot name this gentleman," says the learned orator, "I cannot name this gentleman without remarking, that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has visited *all Europe*; not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, nor the stateliness of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosities of modern art; not to collect medals, nor to collate manuscripts; but to dive into the depths of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take guage and

* A city in New Russia, on the river Dnieper, ten miles above the mouth of the Ingalee. It lies in latitude 46, 40, N. Long. 33, 10, E.

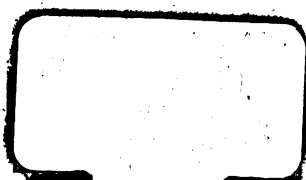
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